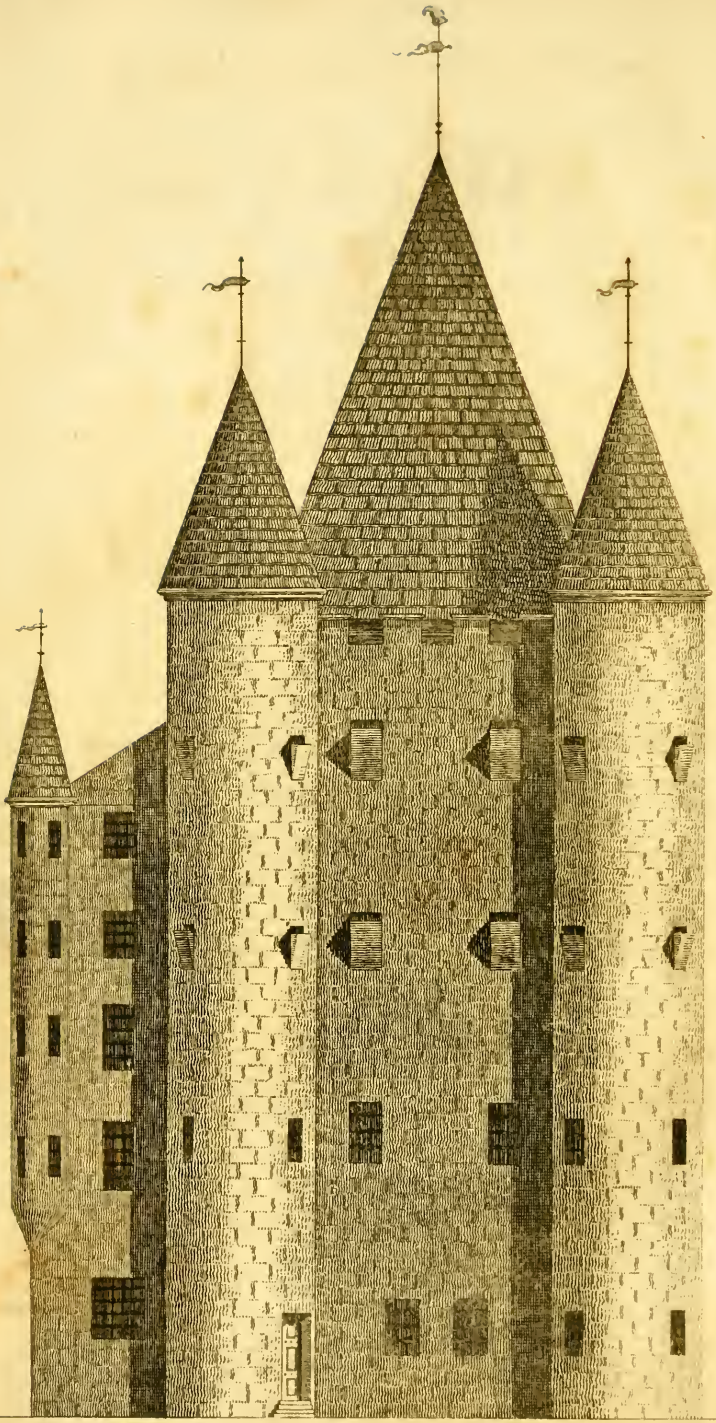
Library
University of Pittsburgh
Darlington Memorial Library
Class Bar CT
Book L888C6
XVI

Journal de ce qui s'est passé
a la Tour du Temple pendant
la Captivité de Louis XVI.
Frontispiece 8vo. Lond. 1798

M. Co. Jan 31. '73



A

JOURNAL

OF

OCCURRENCES AT THE TEMPLE,

DURING THE CONFINEMENT

OF

LOUIS XVI,

KING OF FRANCE.

Animus meminisse horret. VIRG.

BY M. CLÉRY,

THE KING'S VALET-DE-CHAMBRE.

Translated from the original Manuscript

By R. C. DALLAS, Esq.

Author of MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS, &c.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY BAYLIS, GREVILLE-STREET, AND SOLD BY THE AUTHOR, NO. 29, GREAT PULTENEY-STREET, GOLDEN-SQUARE, AND BY ALL THE BOOKSELLERS IN TOWN AND COUNTRY.

1798.

Har
CT
5880.6
XVI

887

N. B. This and the French Edition are entered at Stationer's Hall.

A

JOURNAL

OF THE

OCCURRENCES

IN THE

TOWER OF THE TEMPLE,

DURING THE CONFINEMENT

OF

LOUIS XVI,

KING OF FRANCE.

I WAS in the service of the King of France and his august Family five months in the Tower of the Temple, and notwithstanding the vigilance of the Municipal Officers who were the keepers of it, I found means, by one way or other, to make memorandums of the principal occurrences that took place within that prison.

Although I have been since induced to arrange those memorandums in the form of a Journal, my design is rather to furnish materials to such as shall hereafter write the History of the melancholy end of the unfortunate LOUIS XVI, than to compose Memoirs myself, which is above my talents and pretensions.

Having been the only continual witness of the insults which the King and his Family were made to suffer, I alone can report and attest them with exactness; I shall accordingly confine myself to publishing a detail of the facts simply, impartially, and without mixing my own opinions.

Although I had been an attendant on the Royal Family from the year 1782, and from the nature of my situation have been witness to the most disastrous

events in the course of the Revolution, it would be deviating from my subject to describe them; indeed, most of them are already to be found in various works. I shall therefore begin this Journal at the crisis of the 10th of August, 1792: that dreadful day, on which a small number of men overturned a Throne that had been established fourteen centuries, threw their King into fetters, and precipitated France into an abyss of calamity.

On the 10th of August I was in waiting on the Dauphin. From the morning of the 9th the agitation of the public mind was extreme: crowds assembled every where throughout Paris, and the plan of the conspirators was known beyond a doubt at the Thuilleries. The alarm-bell was to be rung at midnight

in every part of the town, and the *Marseillois*, on being joined by the inhabitants of the fauxbourg St. Antoine, were to march immediately and besiege the Palace. Confined by the nature of my employment to the apartments of the young Prince, in attendance on his person, I knew but partially what passed out of doors, and I shall give an account of those events only to which I was witness that day, when so many different scenes were exhibited, even in the Palace.

In the evening of the 9th at half past eight o'clock, after having attended the Dauphin to his bed, I went from the Thuilleries with the view of learning the sentiments of the public. The courts of the Palace were filled with about eight thousand National Guards, of different Sections, who were disposed to

defend the King. I made my way to the *Palais-Royal*, where I found almost all the avenues closed: some of the National Guards were there under arms, ready to march to the Thuilleries in order to support the battalions that had gone before them; but a mob, set in motion by the leaders of sedition, filled the adjacent streets, and rent the air on all sides with their clamours.

I returned about eleven o'clock to the Palace by the King's apartments. The attendants of the Court, and those in waiting on His Majesty, were collecting together, and under great anxiety. I passed on to the Dauphin's room, which I had scarcely entered when I heard the alarm-bell ringing and the drums beating to arms in every quarter of the town. I remained in the great hall till five in the morning, in company with Madame *de*

St. Brice, bed-chamber woman to the young Prince. At six, the King came down into the courts of the Palace, and reviewed the National Guards and the Swiss, who swore to defend him. The Queen and her children followed the King; and although some seditious voices were heard among the ranks, they were soon drowned in the repeated cries of *Vive le Roi! Vive la Nation!*

The Thuilleries not appearing to be in immediate danger of attack, I again went out, and walked along the quays as far as the *Pont-Neuf*, every where meeting bands of armed men, whose evil intentions were very evident; some had pikes, others had pitch-forks, hatchets or iron bars. The battalion of the *Marsellois* were marching in the greatest order, with their cannon and lighted matches, inviting the people to follow

them, and " assist," as they said, " in " dislodging the tyrant, and proclaim- " ing his deposition to the National As- " sembly." I was but too well convinced of what was approaching, yet impelled by a sense of duty, I hastened before this battalion, and made immediately for the Thuilleries, where I saw a large body of National Guards, pouring out in disorder through the garden gate opposite to the *Pont-Royal.** Sorrow was visible on the countenances of most of them; and several were heard to say:—" We swore " this morning to defend the King, and " in the moment of his greatest danger " we are deserting him." Others, in the interest of the conspirators, were abusing and threatening their fellow-soldiers, whom they forced away. Thus did the well disposed suffer themselves

* A bridge across the Seine, opposite the Palace.

to be overawed by the seditious, and that culpable weakness, which had all along been productive of the evils of the Revolution, gave birth to the calamities of this day.

After many attempts to gain admission into the Palace, a porter at one of the gates knew me and suffered me to pass. I ran immediately to the King's apartments, and begged one of his attendants to inform His Majesty of all I had seen and heard.

At seven o'clock the distress was increased by the cowardice of several battalions that successively deserted the Thuilleries. About four or five hundred of the National Guards remained at their post, and displayed equal fidelity and courage: they were placed indiscriminately

nately with the Swiss Guards within the Palace, at the different stair-cases, and at all the entrances. These troops having spent the night without taking any refreshment, I eagerly engaged with others of the King's servants in providing them with bread and wine, and encouraging them not to desert the Royal Family. It was at this time that the King gave the command, within the Palace, to the Marshal *de Mailly*, the Duke *du Châtelet*, the Count *de Puységur*, the Baron *de Vioménil*, the Count *d'Hervilly*, the Marquis *du Pujet*, and other faithful officers. The attendants of the Court and the servants were distributed in the different halls, having first sworn to defend the King to the last drop of their blood. We were about three or four hundred strong, but our only arms were swords or pistols.

At eight o'clock the danger became more imminent. The Legislative Assembly was convened at the Riding-House, facing the garden of the Thuilleries; and the King had sent several messages to them, communicating the situation in which he then was: at the same time inviting them to appoint a deputation to assist him with their counsel; but the Assembly, though the Palace was threatened with an attack before their eyes, returned no answer.

Some few minutes after, the Department of Paris, and several Municipal Officers made their appearance, with *Rœderer*, then *Procurator-General-Syndic*,* at their head. *Rœderer*, doubtless in concert with the conspirators, strongly per-

* The title of the new law officer of the Directory of the Department.

suaded the King to go with his Family to the Assembly, asserting that he could no longer depend upon the National Guard, and declaring that if he remained in the Palace, neither the Department nor the Municipality of Paris would any longer answer for his safety. The King heard him without emotion, and then retired to his chamber with the Queen, the Ministers, and a few attendants; whence he soon returned to go with his Family to the Assembly. He was attended by a detachment of Swiss and National Guards. None of the attendants, except the Princess *de Lamballe* and the Marchioness *de Tourzel*, who was governess of the children of France, were permitted to follow the Royal Family. The Marchioness *de Tourzel*, that she might not be separated from the young Prince, was obliged to leave her daugh-

ter, then seventeen years of age, at the Thuilleries, in the midst of the soldiers. It was now near nine o'clock.

Compelled to remain in the apartments, I awaited with terror the consequences of the step the King had taken, and went to a window that looked upon the garden. In about half an hour after the Royal Family had gone to the Assembly, I saw four heads carried on pikes along the terrace of the Feuillans, towards the building where the Legislative Body was sitting; which was, I believe, the signal for attacking the Palace: for at the same instant there began a dreadful firing of canon and musketry. The Palace was every where pierced with balls and bullets; and as the King was gone, each endeavoured to take care of himself, but every passage was blocked up, and certain death seemed to

await us all. I ran from place to place, and finding the apartments and stair-cases already strewed with dead bodies, took the resolution of leaping from one of the windows in the Queen's room down upon the terrace, whence I made across the parterre with the utmost speed to reach the *Pont-Tournant:** but a body of Swiss, who had gone before me, were rallying under the trees. Finding myself between two fires, I ran back in order to gain the new flight of steps leading up to the terrace on the water-side, intending to throw myself over the wall upon the quay, but was prevented by the constant fire that was kept up on the *Pont-Royal.* I continued my way on the same side till I came to the Dauphin's

* A bridge at the bottom of the garden, which, on being turned, cuts off the communication from the adjoining square, called *Place Louis Quinze.*

garden gate, where some *Marseillois*, who had just butchered several of the Swiss, were stripping them. One of them came up to me with a bloody sword in his hand, saying:—" How, ci-" tizen! without arms? take this sword, " and help us to kill." However, another *Marseillois* seized it. I was, as he observed, without arms, and fortunately in a plain frock; for if any thing had betrayed my situation in the Palace, I should not have escaped.

Some of the Swiss, who were pursued, took refuge in an adjoining stable; I concealed myself in the same place. They were soon cut to pieces close to me. On hearing the cries of these wretched victims, M. *le Dreux*, the master of the house, ran up, and I seized that opportunity of going in, where, without knowing me, M. *le Dreux* and his wife invited

me to stay till the danger was over. In my pocket were letters and newspapers directed to the Prince Royal, and a card of admission to the Thuilleries, on which my name and the nature of my employment were written; papers that could not have failed to betray me, and which I had just time to throw away before a body of armed men came into the house, to see if any of the Swiss were concealed in it. I pretended, by the advice of M. *le Dreux*, to be working at some drawings that were lying on a large table. After a fruitless search, these fellows, their hands tinged with blood, stopt and coolly related the murders of which they had been guilty. I remained at this asylum from ten o'clock in the morning till four in the afternoon, having before my eyes a view of the horrors that were committed at the *Place de Louis Quinze.*

Of the men, some were continuing the slaughter, and others cutting off the heads of those who were already slain; while the women, lost to all sense of shame, were committing the most indecent mutilations on the dead bodies, from which they tore pieces of flesh, and carried them in triumph.

In the course of the day, Madame *de Rambaut*, one of the bed-chamber women to the Dauphin, having escaped with great difficulty from the massacre at the Thuilleries, came for refuge to the house where I was; but we made signs to each other not to speak. The sons of our hosts, who soon after came in from the National Assembly, informed us that the authority of the King had been suspended, and that he was kept in sight, with the Royal Family, in the short-

short-hand writer's box,* so that it was impossible to approach his person.

On hearing this I would fain have gone home to my wife and children at a country house about five leagues from Paris, where we had lived above two years; but the barriers were shut, and I also thought myself bound not to desert Madame *de Rambaut.* We agreed therefore to take the road to Versailles, where she resided, and the sons of our host accompanied us. We crossed the *Pont Louis Seize,*† which was covered with the naked carcases of men already in a state

* In the original *la loge du rédacteur du Logographe,* a box set apart for the short-hand writers of a paper called the Logographe, which professed to give the debates word for word.

† A new bridge near the Thuilleries.

of putrefaction from the great heat of the weather, and, after many risques, escaped from Paris through an unguarded breach in the walls.

In the plain of Grenelle we were met by peasants on horseback, who, threatening us with their arms, called to us from a distance, to stop or that we should have our brains blown out. One of them, taking me for one of the King's Guards, levelled his piece at me, and was going to fire, when another proposed to take us to the Municipality of Vaugirard, saying:—"There's a score of them al-" ready, the harvest will be the greater." At the Municipality our hosts were known, but the Mayor, addressing himself to me, asked why I was not at my post when the country was in danger? "Why," said he, "do you quit Paris? "It has the appearance of bad designs."

——" Ay, ay," cried the mob, " to pri-" son; away to prison with the Aristo-" crats." I replied that it was for the very purpose of going to my post that I was on the road to Versailles, where I resided, and where my post was, as theirs was at Vaugirard.—Madame *de Rambaut* was also interrogated, and our hosts having declared that we spoke the truth, we were furnished with passports. I have reason to bless GOD that I was not taken to their prison, for they had just before sent thither two and twenty of the King's Guards, who were afterwards removed to the *Abbaye*,* where they were massacred on the second of September following.

From Vaugirard to Versailles we were continually stopt by patroles, to have our

* A prison.

passports examined. Having conducted Madame *de Rambaut* to her relations, I delayed not a moment to repair to my own family; but the fall I had received in leaping from the window at the Thuilleries, the fatigue of walking twelve leagues, and the painful reflections of my mind upon the deplorable events that had just taken place, were too much for me to bear, and threw me into a very high fever. For three days I kept my bed, but my impatience to know the fate of the King surmounted my disorder, and I returned to Paris.

On my arrival in the evening of the thirteenth, I learnt that the Royal Family were just sent to the Temple after having been detained at the Feuillans since the tenth; that the King had chosen M. *de Chamilly*, his first valet de chambre, to wait upon him; and that M. *Huë*, usher

of the King's chamber, and for whom the place of the Dauphin's first valet de chambre had been intended, was to wait upon the young Prince. The Princess *de Lamballe*, the Marchioness *de Tourzel*, and Mademoiselle *Pauline de Tourzel* had accompanied the Queen; and Madame *Thibaut*, Madame *Bazire*, Madame *Navarre*, and Madame *St. Brice*, four of the bedchamber-women, attended Her Majesty, the Prince and Princesses.

I now lost all hope of continuing with the Dauphin, and was going to return into the country, when, on the sixteenth day of the King's confinement, I was informed that every person who was in the Tower with the Royal Family had been taken up in the night; that after being examined before the Council of the Commune of Paris, they had been

all sent to the prison *de la Force*, except M. *Huë*, who was carried back to the Temple to attend upon the King; and that *Pétion*, then Mayor, was commissioned to point out two persons more. Upon this intelligence I determined to try every means to recover my place about the Prince, and went to *Pétion*; who said that as I belonged to the King's household I should not be able to obtain the consent of the Council General of the Commune; but on my citing the instance of M. *Huë*, who had just been sent by the same council to attend upon the King, he promised to support a memorial which I put into his hands: however, I observed to him that it would be first necessary to inform the King of the step I had taken, and two days afterwards he wrote to His Majesty in the following terms:

" SIRE,

" The valet de chambre who has at-
" tended the Prince Royal from his in-
" fancy wishes to be continued in his
" service, and as I think it will be agree-
" able to you, I have granted his re-
" quest," &c.

His Majesty wrote in answer, that he accepted my service for his Son, and I was accordingly conducted to the Temple. I was searched; informed of the manner in which it was expected that I should behave; and the same day, the 26th of August, at eight o'clock in the evening, entered the Tower.

IT would be difficult for me to describe the impression made upon me by the sight of this august and unfortunate

Family. The Queen first spoke to me, and after some expressions full of goodness, she added, "You will attend my "son, and concert with M. *Huë* as to us." I was so overcome, that I could scarcely make an answer.

At supper, the Queen and the Princesses, who for eight days had been deprived of their female attendants, asked me if I could comb their hair; and when I replied, that I would do any thing they desired, a Municipal Officer came up to me, and told me, loud enough to be heard by all, to be more circumspect in my replies: an opening that alarmed me.

For the first eight days of my being at the Temple, I had no communication out of doors, M. *Huë* being the only person

person commissioned to ask for and receive whatever was necessary for the Royal Family, on whom we attended jointly and without distinction. With respect to the King himself, I had only to dress him in the morning and roll his hair at night. Perceiving that I was incessantly watched by the Municipal Officers, who took umbrage at the slightest trifle, I very cautiously avoided any indiscretion, which would infallibly have been my ruin.

On the second of September, there were great tumults about the Temple. The King and the Family having come down as usual to walk in the garden, a Municipal Officer that followed the King, said to one of his associates, "We "were wrong in allowing them to walk "this afternoon." I had taken notice

in the morning that the Commissioners from the Municipality were uneasy. They made the Royal Family return in a violent hurry, but they were scarcely assembled in the Queen's chamber, when two of the Officers, who were not on duty at the Tower, came in, one of whom, whose name was *Mathieu*, formerly a Capuchin, thus addressed the King:—"You are unacquainted, Sir, "with what is passing. The Country "is in the greatest danger, the enemy "have entered Champagne, and the "King of Prussia is marching to Cha-"lons. You will have to answer for all "the mischief that may follow. We "know that we, our wives and children "must perish, but the people shall be "avenged. You shall be the first to die; "however, there is yet time and you "may"——— Here the King replied, that he had done every thing for the

people, and had nothing to reproach himself with.—On which the same fellow turning to M. *Huë*, said:—"The "Council of the Commune have charged me to take you into custody."—"Whom?" cried the King.—"Your "valet de chambre" was the reply. The King desired to know of what crime he was accused, but not being able to obtain information, became the more uneasy for his fate, and recommended him with great concern to the two Officers. Seals were put, in the presence of M. *Huë*, on the small room occupied by him, and he was taken away at six in the evening, after having been twenty days in the Temple. *Mathieu*, as he was going out, told me to take care how I conducted myself, "For," said he, "it may be your turn next."

The King then called me to him, and gave me some papers, which he had received from M. *Huë*, containing accounts of expences. The disturbed looks of the Municipal Officers, and the clamours of the populace in the neighbourhood of the Tower, affected him exceedingly. After the King went to bed, he desired me to sleep near him, and I placed my bed by His Majesty's.

On the 3d of September, His Majesty, when I was dressing him, asked me if I had heard any news of M. *Huë*, and if I knew any thing of the commotions in Paris. I told him that in the course of the night I had heard an Officer say the people were going to the prisons; but I would try if I could learn any thing more. "Take care," said His Majesty, "not to expose yourself, for we should "then be left alone; and, indeed, I fear

" it is their intention to put strangers " about us."

At eleven in the forenoon, the King having joined his Family in the Queen's chamber, a Municipal Officer desired me to go up to the King's, where I found *Manuel* and some members of the Commune. *Manuel* asked me what the King had said of M. *Huë*'s being taken away. I answered, that it had made His Majesty very uneasy. "He will come to no harm," said he; "but I am commanded to inform " the King that he is not to return, but " that the Council will put a person in " his place. You may go and break " this to him." I begged to be excused, adding, that the King desired to see him respecting several things of which the Royal Family stood in great need. *Manuel* could scarcely prevail upon himself to go down to the chamber where

His Majesty was. He communicated the order of the Council of the Commune, concerning M. *Huë*, and informed him that another person was to be sent. " By no means," replied the King, " I " will make use of my Son's valet de " chambre, and if the Council object " to that, I will wait upon myself, I am " resolved." His Majesty then mentioned that the Family were in want of linen, and other cloathing. *Manuel* said he would go and make it known to the Council, and retired. I asked him, as I conducted him out, if the tumults continued, and his answers excited my apprehensions that the populace might visit the Temple. " You have under- " taken a perilous service," added he, " and I advise you to prepare all your " courage."

At one o'clock, the King and the Family expressed a desire to walk, but were refused. When they were dining, drums were heard, and soon after the cries of the populace. The Royal Family rose from table with great uneasiness, and assembled in the Queen's chamber. I went down to dine with *Tison* and his wife, who were employed for the service of the Tower.

We were scarcely seated, when a head on the point of a pike was held to the window. *Tison*'s wife gave a violent scream, which the murderers supposed to have proceeded from the Queen, and we heard the savages laughing immoderately. Imagining that Her Majesty was still at dinner, they placed their victim in such a manner that it could not escape her sight. The head was the Princess *de Lamballe*'s, which, though

bleeding, was not disfigured, and her fine light hair, still curling, waved round the pike.

I ran instantly to the King. My countenance was so altered by terror, that it was perceived by the Queen, from whom it was necessary to hide the cause; and I wished to make it known to the King only, or to Madame Elizabeth, but the two Commissioners of the Municipality were present. " Why don't you " go and dine?" said the Queen. I replied that I was not well; and at that moment another Municipal Officer, entering the Tower, came and spoke to his associates with an air of mystery. On the King's asking if his Family was in safety, they answered—" It has " been reported that you and your Fa- " mily are gone from the Tower, and " the

" the people are calling for you to ap-
" pear at the window, but we shall not
" suffer it, for they ought to show more
" confidence in their Magistrates."

In the mean time the clamour without increased, and insults addressed to the Queen were distinctly heard; when another Municipal Officer came in, followed by four men, deputed by the populace to ascertain whether the Royal Family was, or was not in the Tower. One of them, accoutred in the uniform of the National Guards, with two epaulettes, and a huge sabre in his hand, insisted that the prisoners should show themselves at the windows, but the Municipal Officers would not allow it: upon which the fellow said to the Queen, in the most indecent manner:—
" They want to keep you from seeing

" *de Lamballe*'s head, which has been " brought you that you may know how " the people avenge themselves upon " their tyrants: I advise you to show " yourself, if you would not have them " come up here." At this threat the Queen fainted away; I flew to support her, and Madame Elizabeth assisted me in placing her upon a chair, while her children, melting into tears, endeavoured by their caresses to bring her to herself. The wretch kept looking on, and the King, with a firm voice, said to him: —" We are prepared for every thing, " Sir, but you might have dispensed " with relating this horrible disaster to " the Queen." Their purpose being accomplished, he went away with his companions.

The Queen coming to herself, mingled her tears with those of her children,

and all the Family removed to Madame Elizabeth's chamber, where the noises of the mob were less heard. I remained a short time in the Queen's, and looking out at the window, through the blinds, I again saw the Princess *de Lamballe*'s head. The person that carried it was mounted upon the rubbish of some houses that were ordered to be pulled down for the purpose of insulating the Tower: another stood behind him, holding the heart of that unfortunate Princess, covered with blood, on the point of a sabre. The crowd being inclined to force the gate of the Tower, was harangued by a Municipal Officer, named *Daujon*, and I very distinctly heard him say:—" The head of *Antoi-*
" *nette* does not belong to you; the De-
" partments have their respective rights
" to it; France has confided these great

" culprits to the care of the City of " Paris; and it is your part to assist in " securing them, until the national jus- " tice takes vengeance for the people." He was more than an hour debating with them before he could get them away.

On the evening of the same day, one of the Commissioners told me that the mob had attempted to rush in with their four deputies, and to carry into the Tower the body of the Princess *de Lamballe*, naked and bloody as it had been dragged from the prison *de la Force* to the Temple: that some Municipal Officers, after struggling with them, had hung a tri-coloured ribbon across the principal gate as a bar against them; that the Commune of Paris, General *Santerre*, and the National Assembly had been all called upon in vain for assistance to put a stop to designs which no

pains were taken to conceal; and that for six hours it was very doubtful whether the Royal Family would be massacred, or not. In truth, the Faction was not yet sufficiently powerful; the chiefs, although they were unanimous as to the regicide, were not so as to the means of perpetrating it, and the Assembly were perhaps willing that any other hands but theirs should be the instruments of the Conspirators. It struck me as a remarkable circumstance, that the Municipal Officer, after the narrative he gave me, made me pay him five-and-forty sous, which the tri-coloured ribbon had cost.

At eight in the evening all was calm in the neighbourhood of the Tower, but the same tranquillity was far from reigning throughout Paris, where the massacres were continued for four or

five days. I had an opportunity when the King was going to bed, to tell him of the commotions I had seen, and the particulars I had heard. He asked me which of the Municipal Officers had shown most firmness in defending the lives of his Family; I mentioned *Daujon* as having stopped the impetuosity of the people, though nothing was farther from his heart than good will to His Majesty. He did not come to the Tower again for four months, and then the King, recollecting his conduct, thanked him.

THE day following was still very melancholy from the recollections of the preceding one, but the scenes of horror I have been relating, having been followed with some degree of tranquillity, the Royal Family resumed the uni-

form mode of life which they had adopted on their arrival at the Temple. That the particulars may be the more easily understood, I shall here give a description of the small Tower, in which the King was then confined.

It stood with its back against the great Tower, without any interior communication, and formed a long square, flanked by two turrets. In one of these turrets, there was a narrow staircase that led from the first floor to a gallery on the platform: in the other were small rooms answering to each story of the Tower.

The body of the building was four stories high. The first consisted of an antichamber, a dining-room, and a small room in the turret, where there

was a library, containing from twelve to fifteen hundred volumes.

The second story was divided nearly in the same manner. The largest room was the Queen's bedchamber, in which the Dauphin also slept; the second, which was separated from the Queen's by a small antichamber almost without light, was occupied by Madame Royale and Madame Elizabeth. This chamber was the only way to the turret-room on this story, and that turret-room was the only place of office for this whole range of building, being in common for the Royal Family, the Municipal Officers, and the soldiers.

The King's apartments were on the third story. He slept in the great room, and made a study of the turret-closet.

There

There was a kitchen separated from the King's chamber by a small dark room, which had been successively occupied by M. *de Chamilly* and M. *Huë*, and on which the seals were now fixed. The fourth story was shut up; and on the ground floor there were kitchens, of which no use was made.

The King usually rose at six in the morning: he shaved himself, and I dressed his hair; he then went to his reading-room, which being very small, the Municipal Officer on duty remained in the bedchamber with the door open, that he might always keep the King in sight. His Majesty continued praying on his knees for five or six minutes, and then read till nine o'clock. In that interval, after putting his chamber to rights, and preparing the breakfast, I

went down to the Queen, who never opened her door till I arrived, in order to prevent the Municipal Officer from going into her apartment. I dressed the Prince, and combed the Queen's hair, then went and did the same for Madame Royale and Madame Elizabeth. This service afforded one of the opportunities I had of communicating to the Queen and Princesses whatever I learnt; for when they found by a sign that I had something to say, one of them kept the Municipal Officer in talk, to divert his attention.

At nine o'clock, the Queen, the children, and Madame Elizabeth went up to the King's chamber to breakfast, which having prepared for them, I put the Queen and the Princesses' chambers to rights, with the assistance of *Tison* and his wife, the only kind of work in which

they gave me any help. It was not for this service only that these people were placed in the Tower: a more important part was assigned them; they were to observe whatever escaped the vigilance of the Commissioners of the Municipality, and even to inform against those Officers themselves. They were also doubtless intended to be made useful in the perpetration of whatever crimes might enter into the plan of those who had appointed them; for the woman, who then appeared of a mild disposition, and stood in great awe of her husband, has since betrayed herself in an infamous accusation of the Queen, at the conclusion of which she was seized with fits of madness: and as for *Tison*, who had formerly been a custom-house officer* of the

* *Commis aux barrières.*

lowest rank, he was an old fellow of a ferocious temper, incapable of pity, and a stranger to every sentiment of humanity. The Conspirators seemed determined to place the most vicious and degraded of mankind near the most virtuous and august.

At ten o'clock, the King and the Family went down to the Queen's chamber, and there passed the day. He employed himself in educating his Son, made him recite passages from *Corneille* and *Racine*, gave him lessons in geography, and exercised him in colouring the maps. The Prince's early quickness of apprehension fully repaid the fond cares of the King. He had so happy a memory, that on a map covered over with a blank sheet of paper, he could point out the departments, districts, towns, and courses of the rivers. It was the new geography

of France, which the King taught him. The Queen, on her part, was employed in the education of her daughter; and these different lessons lasted till eleven o'clock. The remaining hour till noon was passed in needle-work, knitting, or making tapestry. At noon, the Queen and Princesses retired to Madame Elizabeth's chamber, to change their dress: no Municipal Officer went in with them.

At one o'clock, when the weather was fine, the Royal Family were conducted to the garden by four Municipal Officers and the Commander of a legion of the National Guards. A great number of workmen being employed in the Temple, pulling down houses and raising new walls, the only walk allowed was a part of that under the great chestnut-trees. Being permitted to attend on these occassions, I engaged the young

Prince to play, sometimes at foot-ball, sometimes at coits, at racing, and other active sports.

At two, we returned to the Tower, where I served the dinner: at which time *Santerre* the brewer, who was Commander in Chief of the National Guards of Paris, regularly came every day to the Temple, attended by two aid-de-camps. He minutely examined the different rooms; the King sometimes spoke to him, but the Queen never. After dinner the Royal Family withdrew to the Queen's chamber, where their Majesties usually played a party of piquet or tricktrac; at which time I went to dinner.

At four o'clock, the King lay down for a few minutes, the Family, with books in their hands, sitting round him,

and keeping profound silence while he slept. What a sight! a Monarch persecuted by hatred and calumny, fallen from his Throne into a prison, yet supported by the purity of his mind, and enjoying the peaceful slumbers of the good. His consort, his children and his sister, with reverence contemplating his majestic countenance, whose serenity seemed to have increased with misfortune, and on which one might read by anticipation the bliss he now enjoys. A sight, that will never be effaced from my memory.

On the King's waking, the conversation was resumed; and he would make me sit by him, while I taught his son to write. The copies I set were chosen by himself from the works of *Montesquieu*, and other celebrated authors. When this lesson was over, I attended the

young Prince to Madame Elizabeth's chamber, where he played at ball or shuttle-cock.

In the evening, the Family sat round a table, while the Queen read to them from books of history, or other works proper to instruct and amuse her children, in which she often, unexpectedly, met with situations correspondent to her own, that gave birth to very afflicting reflections. Madame Elizabeth took the book in her turn, and in this manner they read till eight o'clock. I then gave the Prince his supper in Madame Elizabeth's chamber, during which the Family looked on, and the King took pleasure in diverting the children, by making them guess riddles in a collection of the *Mercures de France*, which he had found in the library.

After the Dauphin had supped, I undressed him, and the Queen heard him say his prayers: he said one in particular for the Princess *de Lamballe*,* and in another he begged of GOD to protect the life of the Marchioness *de Tourzel*, his governess. When the Municipal Officers were too near, the Prince, of his own accord, had the precaution to say these two prayers in a low voice. We were out of their sight only two or three minutes, just before I put him into bed, and if I had any thing to communicate to the Queen, I took that opportunity. I acquainted her with the contents of the journals, for though none of them were permitted in the Tower, a newsman, sent on purpose, used to come

* It is scarcely necessary to observe, that Roman Catholics pray for the souls of the dead.

every night at seven o'clock, and standing near the wall by the side of the round Tower in the Temple enclosure, cried, several times over, an account of all that had been passing at the National Assembly, at the Commune, and in the Armies. Placing myself in the King's reading-room, I listened, and with the advantage of perfect silence, remembered all I heard.

At nine, the King went to supper; while the Queen and Madame Elizabeth took it in turns to stay with the Dauphin: and as I carried them whatever they wished from the table, it afforded me another opportunity of speaking to them without witnesses.

After supper, the King went for a moment to the Queen's chamber, shook

hands with her and his sister for the night, and kissed his children; then going to his own apartment he retired to the turret-room, where he sat reading till midnight. The Queen and the Princesses locked themselves in: and one of the Municipal Officers remained in the little room which parted their chambers, where he passed the night; the other followed His Majesty.

I then made up my bed near the King's; but His Majesty, before he went to rest, waited to know who was the new Munipal Officer on duty, and if he had never seen him, commanded me to enquire his name. The Municipal Officers were relieved at eleven o'clock in the morning, five in the afternoon, and at midnight. In this manner was the time passed as long as the King remained in the small

Tower, which was till the 30th of September.

I SHALL now resume the order of occurrences. On the 4th of September, *Pétion*'s secretary came to the Tower, to bring the King a sum of two thousand livres in assignats, for which he obliged him to give a receipt. His Majesty requested him to pay M. *Huë* 526 livres, which he had advanced for his service, and he promised to do it. This sum of two thousand livres was the only payment made, notwithstanding the Legislative Assembly had voted 500,000 livres for His Majesty's expences at the Tower of the Temple, though doubtless before they had suspected, or before they had dared to engage in the real designs of their leaders.

Two days after, Madame Elizabeth desired me to collect some trifling things belonging to the Princess *de Lamballe*, which she had left at the Tower when she was carried off. I made them up into a parcel, which I directed with a letter to her chief waiting-woman: and I have since learnt that neither the parcel nor the letter were ever delivered.

At this period, the characters of the greater part of the Municipal Officers picked out for the Temple, showed what sort of men had been employed for the Revolution of the 10th of August, and for the massacres of the second of September.

One of them named *James*, a teacher of the English language, took it into his head one day to follow the King into his closet, and to sit down by him.

His Majesty mildly told him that there his colleagues had always left him by himself, that as the door stood open he could never be out of his sight, but that the room was too small for two. *James* persisted in a harsh and brutal manner; the King was forced to submit, and giving up his course of reading for that day, returned to his chamber, where the Municipal Officer continued to beset him with the most tyrannical superintendance.

One morning when the King rose, he thought the Commissioner on duty was the same who had been upon guard the evening before, and expressed some concern that he had not been relieved; but this mark of goodness was only answered with insults. " I come here," said the man, " to watch your conduct, and " not for you to busy yourself with

" mine."—Then going up close to His Majesty, with his hat on his head, he continued:—" Nobody has a right to " meddle with it, and you less than any " one else." He was insolent the whole day. I have since learnt that his name was *Meunier*.

Another Commissioner whose name was *Le Clerc*, a physician, being in the Queen's chamber when I was teaching the Prince to write, interrupted him to pronounce a discourse on the republican education which it was necessary to give the Dauphin, and he wanted to change the books he was studying for works of the most revolutionary nature.

A fourth was present when the Queen was reading to her children from a volume of the History of France, at the

period when the Constable *de Bourbon* took up arms against France. He pretended that the Queen meant by this to instill into the mind of her son ideas of vengeance against his Country, and laid a formal information against it before the Council: which I made known to Her Majesty, who afterwards selected subjects that could not be taken hold of to calumniate her intentions.

A man named *Simon*, shoemaker and Municipal Officer, was one of the six Commissioners appointed to inspect the works and expences at the Temple. He was the only one, who, under pretence of attending rigidly to his duty, never quitted the Tower. This man whenever he appeared in the presence of the Royal Family always treated them with the vilest insolence; and

would

would frequently say to me so near the King as to be heard by him:—" *Cléry*, " ask *Capet* if he wants any thing, that " I mayn't have the trouble of coming " up twice." I was obliged to answer that he wanted nothing. This is the same *Simon* to whose care the young LOUIS was afterwards consigned, and who by a systematic barbarity prolonged the torments of that amiable and unfortunate child: there is also great reason to believe that he was the instrument made use of to shorten his days.

In teaching the young Prince to cipher I had made a multiplication table, according to directions given by the Queen, which a Municipal Officer pretended was a means she took to teach her son how to correspond by secret

signs, and he was obliged to give up the study of arithmetic.

The same thing had happened with respect to the tapestry which the Queen and Madame Elizabeth had worked on their being first confined. Having finished some chair backs, the Queen ordered me to send them to the Duchess *de Sérent*; but the Municipal Officers, whose leave I asked, thought that the designs contained hieroglyphics for the purpose of corresponding, and, in consequence, obtained an order, by which it was forbidden to suffer the works of the Queen and Princesses to be sent out of the Tower.

There were some of the Municipal Officers who never spoke of any of the Royal Family without the addition of the most insulting epithets. One of

them named *Turlot*, one day said in my hearing:—" If no executioner could be " found to guillotine this d——d Family, " I would guillotine them myself."

When the King and Family went to walk they had to pass by a number of sentries, of which even at that period, there were several stationed within the small Tower. The soldiers on duty presented their arms to the Municipal Officers and Commanders of the Legions, but when the King approached them, they grounded their firelocks, or clubbed them ludicrously.

One of the soldiers within, wrote one day on the King's chamber door, and that too on the inside:—*The guillotine is permanent, and ready for the tyrant* LOUIS XVI. The King read

the words, which I made an attempt to rub out, but His Majesty prevented me.

One of the door-keepers of the Tower, whose name was *Rocher*, a man of a horrid figure, accoutred as a pioneer, with long whiskers, a black hairy cap, a huge sabre, and a belt, to which hung a bunch of great keys, came up to the door when the King wanted to go out, but did not open it till His Majesty was quite close, when, pretending to search for the key among the many he had, which he rattled in a terrible manner, he designedly kept the Royal Family waiting, and then drew the bolts with a great clatter. After doing this, he ran down before them, and fixing himself on one side of the last door, with a long pipe in his mouth, puffed the fumes of his tobacco at each of the Royal Family

as they went out, and most at the Queen and Princesses. Some National Guards, who were amused with these indignities, came about him, burst into fits of laughter at every puff of smoke, and used the grossest language; some of them went so far as to bring chairs from the guard-room to sit and enjoy the sight, obstructing the passage, of itself sufficiently narrow.

While the Family were walking, the engineers assembled to dance and sing: their songs were always revolutionary, sometimes also obscene.

The same indignities were repeated on their return. The walls were frequently covered with the most indecent scrawls, in large letters, that they might not escape notice. Among others were—*Madame Véto shall swing.*——*We*

shall find a way of bringing down the great hog's fat.——*Down with the red ribbon.*——*The little wolves must be strangled.* —— Under a gallows, with a figure hanging were these words: — *Louis taking an air bath.*—— And under a guillotine:—*Louis spitting in the bag*,* or other similar ribaldry.

Thus was the short airing allowed to the Family turned into torture. This the King and Queen might have avoided, by remaining within; but the air was necessary for their children, whom they most tenderly loved, and for their sakes it was, that their Majesties daily

* *Crachant dans le sac*—literally, *spitting in the sack*: this is a vulgar phrase alluding to the position of a person in the guillotine looking upon a little bag placed at the end to receive the head.

endured, without complaining, these endless affronts.

A few instances, however, of fidelity or feeling occured at times to soften the horror of these persecutions, and were the more striking from being uncommon.

As I was sitting alone reading in the antichamber next the Queen's room, the sentinel on guard at her door, an inhabitant of the suburbs, dressed neatly, but in plain country cloaths, eyed me with much attention and appeared greatly moved. I got up to pass by him, on which he presented his arms, and, with a trembling voice, said:—"You "must not go out."——"Why not?"—— "I am ordered to keep you in sight." ——"You are mistaken," said I.—— "What! Sir, are you not the King?"——

" Don't you know him then?"——" I " never saw him in my life, Sir; and " wish, with all my heart, I could see " him any where rather than here."—— " Speak low: I am going into that " room, and will leave the door a jar, " that you may see the King: he is sit- " ting near the window, with a book in " his hand." I made the sentinel's wish known to the Queen; and the King, on her informing him of it, had the good- ness to walk from one room to the other that he might have a view of him. When I went back—" Ah! Sir," said he, " how good is the King! how fond of " his children!" He had seen him through the door caressing them, and was so affected as to be hardly able to speak. " No," continued he, striking his breast, " I can never believe he has " done us so much harm." I here left him,

him, fearing that his extreme agitation would betray him.

Another sentinel at the end of the walk, who was very young, and of an interesting figure, showed by his looks a desire to give the Royal Family some intelligence. Madame Elizabeth, in taking the second turn, went up to him, that he might have an opportunity of speaking; but whether through fear or respect, he did not attempt it: his eyes, however, were full of tears, and he made a sign that he had lodged a paper in the rubbish, near the place where he was standing. I went and looked for it, pretending to pick out stones for the Prince to play with at coits, but the Municipal Officers coming up made me retire, and forbade me ever again going

so near the sentinels. I never knew what were the intentions of this young man.

During the hour allowed for walking, another kind of sight was presented to the Family, that often awakened their sensibility. Many of their faithful subjects, placing themselves at the windows of the houses round the garden of the Temple, took the opportunity of this short interval to see their King and Queen, and it was impossible to be deceived in their sentiments and their wishes. I once thought I could distinguish the Marchioness *de Tourzel*, and I was the more convinced of it from the extreme attention with which the person followed the Dauphin with her eyes, when he ran to any distance from their Majesties. I made the observation to Madame Elizabeth, who could not refrain from tears at the name of Madame

de Tourzel, believing her to be one of the victims of the second of September.—"What!" said she, "can she be still "alive?" The next day, however, I found means to get information that the Marchioness *de Tourzel* was at one of her estates in the country.

I found also that the Princess *de Tarente*, and the Marchioness *de la Roche-Aimont*, who were at the Palace of the Thuilleries when it was attacked on the 10th of August, had escaped the assassins. The safety of these ladies, who on so many occasions had manifested their attachment, afforded the Royal Family some moments of consolation; but they very soon after heard the horrid news of the prisoners from the High Court of Orleans having been massacred on the 9th of September at Versailles. The

King was overwhelmed with sorrow at the unfortunate fate of the Duke *de Brissac*, who had never forsaken him a single day from the beginning of the Revolution. His Majesty also grieved exceedingly for M. *de Lessart*, and the other interesting victims of their attachment to his person and their country.

On the 21st of September, at four o'clock in the afternoon, one *Lubin*, a Municipal Officer, attended by horsemen and a great mob, came before the Tower to make a proclamation. Trumpets were sounded, and a dead silence ensued. *Lubin*'s voice was of the Stentorian kind. The Royal Family could distinctly hear the proclamation of the abolition of Royalty, and of the establishment of a Republic. *Hébert*, so well known by the name of *Père du*

Chesne, and *Destournelles*, since made Minister of the Public Contributions, were then on guard over the Family: they were sitting at the time near the door, and stared the King in the face with a malicious grin. The Monarch perceived it, but, having a book in his hand, continued to read, without suffering the smallest alteration to appear upon his countenance. The Queen displayed equal resolution: not a word, not a gesture escaped either of them to increase the malignant enjoyment of those men. At the end of the proclamation the trumpets sounded again, and I went to one of the windows: the eyes of the populace were immediately turned upon me; I was taken for my Royal Master, and overwhelmed with abuse. The horsemen made menacing signs with their sabres, and I was obliged

to withdraw to put an end to the tumult.

The same evening I informed the King, that curtains and more cloaths were wanting for the Dauphin's bed, as the weather began to be cold. He desired me to write the demand for them, which he signed. I used the same expressions I had hitherto done—*The King requires for his son*, and so forth. "It is a great piece of assurance in "you," said *Destournelles*, "thus to "use a title, abolished by the will of "the people, as you have just heard." I observed to him that I had heard a proclamation, but was unacquainted with the object of it. "It is," replied he, "the abolition of Royalty; and you "may tell *the gentleman*," pointing to the King, "to give over taking a title, "no longer acknowledged by the people."

I told him I could not alter this note, which was already signed, as the King would ask me the reason, and it was not my part to tell it him. "You will do as "you like," continued he, "but I shall "not certify the demand." The next day, Madame Elizabeth gave me orders to write in future, for things of this kind, in the following style:—*Such articles are wanted for the use of Louis XVI. . . . of Marie Antoinette. . . . of Louis Charles. . . . of Marie Thérèse. . . . of Marie Elizabeth.*

I had before been often under the necessity of repeating these demands. The small quantity of linen, brought to the Tower by the King and Queen, had been lent to them by some persons of the Court,* while they were at the Feuil-

* The Countess of *Sutherland*, Lady of the English Ambassador, found means to convey to the Queen some

lans. Not any had been saved from the Thuilleries, where on the fatal 10th of August all had been given up to pillage. Indeed, the Family was so much in want of cloaths in general, that the Princesses were employed in mending them every day, and Madame Elizabeth was often obliged to wait till the King was gone to bed, in order to have his to repair. At last, after many applications, I obtained the grant of a little new linen, but the sempstresses having marked it with crowns above the letters, the Municipal Officers insisted upon

linen and other necessary articles for the young Prince. Her Majesty ordered me afterwards to send them back to the Countess, desiring me to write a letter, on her part, expressing her thanks; the Queen being at that time debarred from ink and paper. The Municipal Officers, however, would not allow them to be sent, but kept the linen and the other things.

the

the Princesses picking out the crowns: and they were forced to obey.

On the 26th of September, I learnt, through a Member of the Municipality, that it was intended to separate the King from his Family, and that the apartment preparing for him in the great Tower would soon be ready. I broke this new tyranny to the King in the most wary manner possible, and expressed how much I had felt at being forced to afflict him. "You cannot," said His Majesty, "give me a greater "proof of your attachment; I require "it of your affection, that you should "hide nothing from me; I expect all "that can happen: endeavour to gain "intelligence of the day when this painful separation is to take place, and let "me know it."

On the 29th of September, at ten o'clock in the morning, five or six Municipal Officers walked into the Queen's chamber, where the Royal Family were assembled. One of them, whose name was *Charbonnier*, read to the King a decree of the Council, ordering that— " paper, pens, ink, pencils, knives, and " even papers written upon, whether " found on the persons of the prisoners, " or in their rooms, or on the valet de " chambre, or others serving in the " Tower, should be taken away."—— " And whenever," added he from himself, " you may want any thing, *Cléry* may " go down and write what you require " in a register that will be kept in the " Council Chamber." The King and the whole Family gave up their papers, pencils, and the contents of their pockets, without making a reply. The Commissioners then searched the rooms and

closets, and took away the things pointed out by the decree. I now learnt from a Member of this deputation, that on that very night the King was to be removed to the great Tower; and I found means of informing His Majesty of it by Madame Elizabeth.

In fact, after supper, as the King was leaving the Queen's chamber to go up to his own, a Municipal Officer bade him stop, the Council having something to communicate to him. A quarter of an hour afterwards the six Officers, who in the morning had taken away the papers, came in and read a second decree of the Commune to the King, ordering his removal to the great Tower. Although prepared for this event, he was again affected in the most lively manner: his disconsolate Family,

endeavoured to read in the looks of the Commissioners how far their designs were intended to be carried. The King left them in the most cruel state of alarm at bidding him adieu; and this separation, which portended so many other calamities, was the most cruel suffering their Majesties had hitherto experienced in the Temple. I attended the King to his new prison.

THE King's apartment in the great Tower was not finished. A solitary bed was its only furniture. The painters and paper-hangers were still at work in it, which left an insufferable smell, and I feared it would have incommoded His Majesty. The room intended for me was at a very great distance from the King's. I begged most earnestly to be placed near him, and passed the first

night in a chair by his bed side. The next day the King prevailed, though with much difficulty, to get me a chamber contiguous to his own.

After His Majesty had risen, I wanted to go to the small Tower to dress the Prince, but the Municipal Officers objected. One of them whose name was *Véron*, said to me:—" You are to have " no more communication with the pri- " soners, nor is your master either; he " is not even to see his children again."

At nine o'clock, the King desired to be shown to his Family. " We have no " such orders," said the Commissioners. His Majesty made some observations, to which they gave no answer.

Half an hour afterwards two Municipal Officers came in, followed by a ser-

vant boy, who brought the King a roll and a small decanter of lemonade for his breakfast. His Majesty expressed his desire to dine with his Family. They answered, that they would apply to the Commune for orders. " But," added the King, " let my valet de chambre go " down, he has the care of my son, and " there can be no reason to prevent his " continuing to attend upon him." ——" That does not depend upon us," said the Commissioners, and went away.

I was then in a corner of a chamber, overwhelmed with grief, and absorbed in the most heart-rending reflections on the lot of this august Family. On one hand, I saw before me the pangs of my Royal Master; and on the other, I represented to myself the young Prince delivered over, perhaps, to strange hands; for it had already been said that he was

to be taken from their Majesties: and what fresh tortures would not such a separation occasion to the Queen? I was engrossed with these painful ideas, when the King came up to me, with the roll, that had been brought him, in his hand: he presented half of it to me, saying:— "It seems they have forgotten your "breakfast; take this: the remainder is "enough for me." I excused myself, but he insisted upon it. It was impossible for me to restrain my tears, the King perceived it, and gave way to his own.

At ten o'clock, some other Members of the Municipality brought the workmen to continue their employment in the room. One of these Officers told the King that he had just been present while the Family were at breakfast, and that they were very well. "I thank you," replied the King, "pray remember me

" to them, and say, that I too am well. " May I not," added he, " have some " books which I left in the Queen's " chamber? I would thank you for " them, as I have nothing to read." His Majesty described the books he wanted, and the Officer complied with his request, but not being able to read, he desired I would go with him. I congratulated myself on this man's ignorance, and blessed Providence for this consolatory moment. The King gave me some orders, and his looks spoke the rest.

I found the Queen in her chamber, with her children and Madame Elizabeth about her. They were all weeping, and their grief increased on seeing me. They immediately asked me a thousand questions about the King, which I was forced to answer with reserve. The

Queen,

Queen, addressing the Officers who had accompanied me, again urged her request of being permitted to see the King, if it were but for a few moments in the day, and at their meals. It was no longer weeping and sighing; it was the loud cry of sorrow. " Well then, " they *shall* dine together to-day," said one of the Officers, " but as we must be " ruled by the decrees of the Com- " mune, we will act to-morrow accord- " ing as they shall prescribe."—— To this his associates consented.

At the very idea of being again with the King, a sensation, almost amounting to joy, seemed to re-animate this unfortunate Family. The Queen, folding her children in her arms, and Madame Elizabeth, raising her hands to Heaven, thanked GOD for the unlook-

ed for happiness. It was a most affecting sight, and even some of the Municipal Officers could not refrain from tears: they were the only tears I ever saw shed by any of them in this horrid abode. One of them, it was *Simon* the shoemaker, said, loud enough to be heard: —" I believe these b——s of women " would make *me* cry." Then, turning to the Queen, he added:—" When you " were assassinating the people on the " 10th of August, you did not cry at " all."——" The people," replied the Queen, " are grossly deceived as to our " feelings."

I then took the books which the King had desired to have, and carried them to him; the Municipal Officers accompanying me, to let His Majesty know that he should be allowed to see his Family. I then asked them if I

might go and wait upon the Queen, the Dauphin and Princesses, to which they consented: and I thus had an opportunity of informing Her Majesty of what had passed, and all that the King had suffered since he left her.

The dinner was served up in the King's room, whither the Family repaired, and it was easy to judge of the fears that had agitated their minds, by the emotions that burst forth on this meeting. Nothing more was heard of the decree of the Commune, and His Majesty continued not only to meet his Family at meals, but to join them in their walks.

After dinner, the Queen was shown the apartment preparing for her above the King's: she intreated the workmen

to finish it quickly, but they were three weeks longer at work upon it.

In that interval, I continued my attendance on their Majesties, and also on the Dauphin and the Princesses: they spent their time much in the same way as before. The King's attention to the education of his son met with no interruption; but the Royal Family's residing thus in two separate Towers, by rendering the superintendance of the Municipal Officers more difficult, rendered them also more vigilant. The number of the Municipal Officers were augmented; and their jealousy left me very few means of getting intelligence of what was passing abroad: the following were the methods I took for that purpose.

Under pretence of having linen and other necessary articles brought me, I obtained permission that my wife should come to the Temple once a week: she was always accompanied by one of her friends, a lady who passed for her relation. Nobody could evince greater attachment for the Royal Family than did this lady, by her actions, and by the risks she ran on several occasions. On their arrival, I was called down to the Council Chamber, where, however, I could speak to them only in the presence of the Municipal Officers: we were closely watched, and at several of the first visits I could not find an opportunity to my purpose. I then gave them to understand that they should come at one o'clock: that was the hour of walking, during which the greater part of the Municipal Officers were following the Royal Family: there used then to

be but one of them remaining in the Council Chamber, and when this happened to be a civil man, he left us a little more at liberty, still, however, without losing sight of us.

Having thus an opportunity of speaking without being overheard, I made enquiries respecting those for whom the Royal Family interested themselves, and gained information of what was passing at the Convention. The circumstance of the newsman, whom I have mentioned, proved to be a project of my wife's, who had employed him to come every day under the walls of the Temple, and cry repeatedly the contents of the Journals.

In addition to my intelligence thus obtained, I contrived to procure a little more from some of the Officers them-

selves, and I was particularly assisted by a person of great fidelity, whose name was *Turgi*, a Groom of the King's kitchen, who, from attachment to His Majesty, had found means of getting himself employed at the Temple, with two of his comrades, *Marchand* and *Chrétien*. These brought the dishes for the table of the Royal Family, dressed in a kitchen at a considerable distance; and were also employed in marketing; so that *Turgi*, who shared that office with them, going out of the Temple in his turn, twice or thrice a week, had it in his power to gain information of what was passing. The difficulty was how I should be made acquainted with it; for he was forbidden to speak to me except upon his business, and that always in presence of the Municipal Officers. When he had any thing to say, he made me a sign agreed upon, and I then

strove to detain him under various pretences. Sometimes I begged him to dress my hair, during which Madame Elizabeth, who knew of my understanding with *Turgi*, kept the Municipal Officers talking, so that I had time enough for our conversations: sometimes I contrived an opportunity of his going to my chamber, of which he availed himself to put the Journals, Memorials, and other publications he had for me, under my bed.

When the King or the Queen wished for intelligence, if the day of my wife's coming happened to be distant, I gave the commission to *Turgi*. If it was not his turn to go out, I pretended to want something for the use of the Royal Family: on which he would reply—" Another " day will do."——" Very well," I used

to

to answer, with an air of indifference, "the King will wait." My object was to induce the Municipal Officers to order him out, which frequently happened, and then the same evening or next morning, he gave me the particulars I wanted. We had agreed upon this mode of understanding one another, but took care not to repeat the same methods before the same Commissioners.

Still fresh obstacles were to be surmounted before I could impart the intelligence to the King. The only time I had to speak to him was when they were relieving the Municipal Officers, and as he went to bed. Sometimes, I caught a moment in the morning, before the Commissioners were ready to make their appearance. I showed no inclination to go in till they did, only so

as to let them know that His Majesty was waiting for me. If they allowed me to go in, I immediately drew his curtains, and while I put on his stockings and shoes, spoke without being seen or heard: but I was more frequently disappointed in my hope, for the Municipal Officers generally compelled me to stay till they were dressed, that they might go with me into His Majesty's room. Several of them treated me with harshness: some ordered me in the morning to remove their beds, and forced me at night to bring them back; others were incessantly taunting me: but this conduct afforded me fresh means of being useful to their Majesties: by returning only mildness and civility I gained upon them in spite of their natures, and infusing a confidence into their minds, unperceived by themselves,

I often managed to collect even from *them* the information I wanted.

Such was the plan I had been pursuing with the greatest caution from my arrival at the Temple, when an event as extraordinary as unexpected made me fear that I should be for ever separated from the Royal Family.

One evening, about six o'clock, it was the 5th of October, after having seen the Queen to her apartment, I was returning to the King's with two Municipal Officers, when the sentinel at the great guard-house door, taking me by the arm, and calling me by my name, asked me how I did, and said with an air of mystery, that he wished very much to speak to me. " Sir," cried I, " speak out; I am not allowed to whis-

" per with any body."—" I was assured," replied the sentinel, " that the King had " lately been thrown into a dungeon, and " you with him."—" You see it is not " so," said I; and left him. There was one Officer walking before and another behind me: the former stopt and heard us.

Next morning, two Commissioners waited for me at the door of the Queen's apartment: they conducted me to the Council Chamber, where I was examined by the Municipal Officers there assembled. I reported the conversation exactly as it had passed, which was confirmed by the Officer who had heard it: the other alledged that the sentinel had given me a paper, that he had heard the rumpling of it, and that it was a letter for the King. I denied the fact; desiring they would search me, and take

all means of satisfying themselves. A minute of the sitting of the Council was drawn up, I was confronted with the sentinel, who was sentenced to be confined for four and twenty hours.

I supposed this affair at an end, when, on the 26th of October, while the Royal Family were at dinner, a Municipal Officer walked in, followed by six soldiers with drawn sabres, together with a clerk of the rolls, and a tipstaff, both in their official dress. I was terrified least they should be come for the the King. The Royal Family all rose, and the King asked what they wanted with him, but the Officer, without replying, called me into another room: the soldiers followed us, and the clerk having read a warrant to arrest me, I was seized in order to be taken before the tribunal. I begged permission to inform the King

of it, and was answered that I was no longer at liberty to speak to him—" But " you may take a shirt," added the Officer, " it won't be a long business." I thought I understood him, and took only my hat. I passed by the King and the Royal Family, who were standing, and in consternation at the manner in which I was taken away. The populace assembled in the Temple Court, heaped abuse upon me, calling out for my head. They were told by one of the National Guards that it was necessary to save my life, in order to discover secrets which I alone knew. The same vociferations, however, continued all the way.

The moment we arrived at the *Palais de Justice*, I was confined alone, there I remained six hours, endeavouring in vain to find out what could be the motives for my being arrested. All I could

bring to my mind was, that on the morning of the 10th of August, during the attack on the Thuilleries, some persons, who were there and wished to make their way out, begged me to hide several valuable articles and papers that might have betrayed them, in a chest of drawers that belonged to me: I suspected that these papers had been seized, and would now, perhaps, cost me my life.

At eight o'clock, I appeared before the Judges, who were unknown to me. This was a revolutionary tribunal, erected on the 17th of August, in order to select, among those who had escaped the fury of the populace, such as were doomed to die. How was I amazed when I saw among the prisoners to be tried, the very young man who was suspected of having given me a letter three

weeks before, and when I found my accuser to be the Municipal Officer who had already impeached me before a Council at the Temple! I was examined, witnesses were produced, and the Municipal Officer repeated his accusation. I told him he was unworthy of being a Magistrate of the People; that as he had heard the rumpling of the paper, and thought I had received a letter, he should immediately have had me searched, instead of staying eighteen hours before he lodged any information whatever. The arguments being concluded, the Jury consulted together, and on their verdict we were acquitted. The President charged four Municipal Officers, who were present at my acquittal, to conduct me back to the Temple. It was twelve o'clock at night, and we arrived just as the King was gone to bed, to whom

I was

I was permitted to make my return known. The Royal Family had been very much concerned at my fate, not doubting but that I had already been condemned.

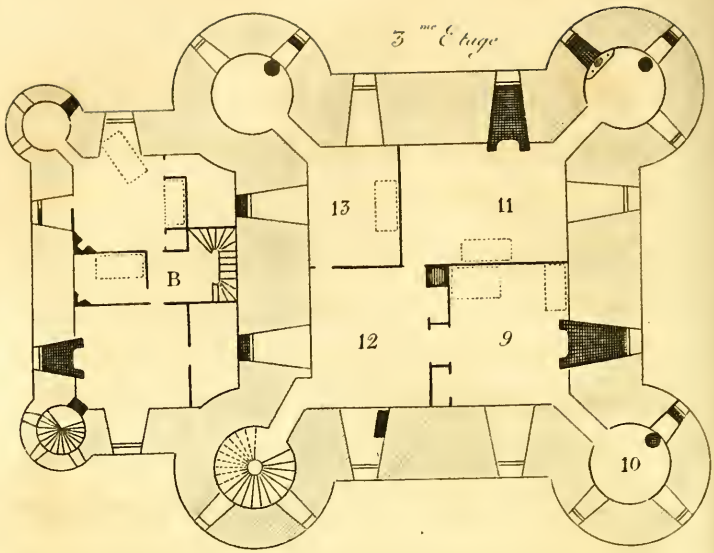
It was at this juncture that the Queen took possession of the apartment that was prepared for her in the great Tower: but even this longed for day, that seemed to promise their Majesties some comfort, was distinguished, on the part of the Municipal Officers, by a fresh mark of their animosity against the Queen. From the hour of her being brought to the Temple they had seen her devoting her life to the care of her son, and in his gratitude and caresses finding some alleviation to her wretchedness: they took him from her, and that, without any previous notice. Her affliction

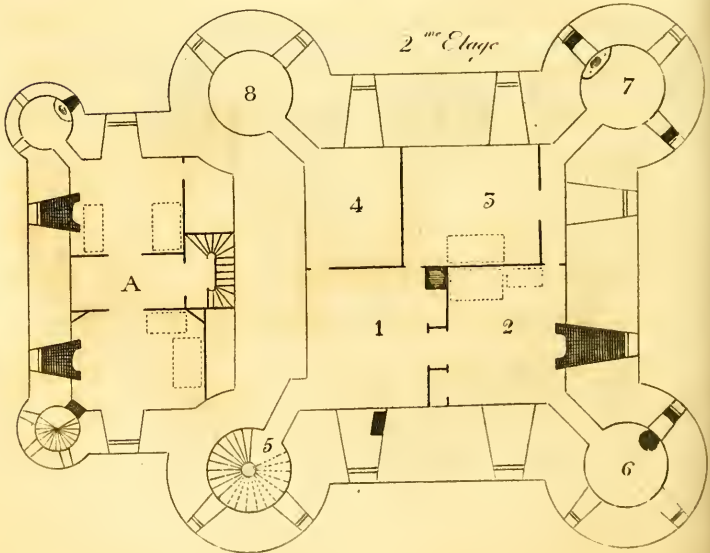
was extreme. The young Prince, however, was placed with the King, and the care of him given to me. How pathetically did the Queen charge me to be watchful over his life!

As the events which I shall have to speak of in future, occurred in a place situated differently from that which I have before described, I think it will be proper here to give also a description of their Majesties' new habitation.

THE great Tower is about a hundred and fifty feet high, and consists of four stories arched, and supported in the middle by a great pillar from the bottom to the top. The area within the walls was about thirty feet square.

The second and third stories allotted to the Royal Family, being, as were all


3 me Etage
13
11
B
12
9
10


2 me Etage
8
7
4
3
A
1
2
5
6

the other stories, single rooms, they were now each divided into four chambers by partitions of board. The ground floor was for the use of the Municipal Officers; the first story was kept as a guard-room; and the King was lodged in the second.

The first room of his apartments was an antichamber (1), from which three doors led to three separate rooms. Opposite the entrance was the King's chamber (2), in which a bed was placed for the Dauphin: mine was on the left (3); so was the dining-room (4), which was divided from the antichamber by a glazed partition. There was a chimney in the King's chamber: the other rooms were warmed by a great stove in the antichamber. The light was admitted into each of these rooms by windows, but

those were blocked up with great iron bars, and slanting screens on the outside, which prevented a free circulation of the air: the embrasures of the windows were nine feet thick.

Every story of the great Tower communicated with four turrets, built at the angles.

In one of these turrets was a staircase (5) that went up as far as the battlements, and on which wickets were placed at certain distances to the number of seven. This staircase opened on every floor through two gates: the first of oak, very thick and studded with nails, the second of iron.

Another of the turrets (6) formed a closet to the King's chamber; the third served for a water-closet (7), and in the

fourth (8) was kept the fire-wood, where also the temporary beds, on which the Municipal Officers slept near the King, were deposited in the day time.

The four rooms, of which the King's apartments consisted, had a false ceiling of cloth, and the partitions were hung with a coloured paper. The antichamber had the appearance of the interior of a jail, and on one of the pannels was hung the Declaration of the Rights of Man, in very large characters with a tricoloured frame. A chest of drawers, a small bureau, four chairs with cushions, an armed chair, a few rush-bottomed chairs, a table, a glass over the chimney, and a green damask bed, were all the furniture of the King's chamber: these articles as well as what was in the other rooms, were taken from the Temple Palace. The King's bed was that in

which the Count *d'Artois'* Captain of the Guards used to sleep.*

The Queen occupied the third story, which was distributed in much the same manner as the King's. The bedchamber for the Queen (9) and Madame Royale, was above His Majesty's: in the turret (10) was their closet. Madame Elizabeth's room (11) was over mine. The entrance served for an antichamber (12), where the Municipal Officers watched by day and slept at night. *Tison* and his wife were lodged over the King's dining-room. (13)

* The Duke *d'Angoulême*, as Grand Prior of France, was proprietor of the Temple Palace. The Count *d'Artois* had furnished it, and made it his residence when he came to Paris. The great Tower, about two hundred paces from the Palace, and, standing in the middle of the garden, was the depository of the archives of the Order of Maltha.

The fourth story was not occupied. A gallery ran all along within the battlements which sometimes served as a walk. The embrasures were stopt up with blinds, to prevent the Family from seeing or being seen.

Few changes were made, since their Majesties being together in the great Tower, as to the hours of their meals, their reading, their walks, or as to the time they had hitherto dedicated to the education of their children. Soon after the King was up, he read the form of prayer of the Knights of the Holy Ghost, and as Mass had not been permitted at the Temple, even on holidays, he commanded me to purchase a breviary, such as was used in the Diocese of Paris. This Monarch was of a religious turn; but his religion, pure and enlightened, never encroached upon his

other duties. Books of travels; *Montesquieu*'s works; those of *Buffon*; *de Pluche*'s *Spectacle de la Nature*; *Hume*'s History of England, in English; on the Imitation* of Christ, in Latin; *Tasso*, in Italian; and French Plays, were what he usually read from his first being sent into confinement. He devoted four hours a day to Latin authors.

The Queen and Madame Elizabeth having desired books of devotion similar to those of the King, His Majesty commanded me to purchase them. Often have I seen Madame Elizabeth on her knees by her bed-side praying with fervency.

At nine o'clock, the King and his son were summoned to breakfast: I attended

* A well-known work of *Thomas A-Kempis*.

them

them. I afterwards dressed the hair of the Queen and Princesses, and, by the Queen's orders, taught Madame Royale to dress hair. While I was doing this the King played at drafts or chess, sometimes with the Queen, sometimes with Madame Elizabeth.

After dinner, the Dauphin and his sister went into the antichamber to play at battledore and shuttlecock, at Siam,* or some other game. Madame Elizabeth was always with them, and generally sat at a table with a book in her hand. I

* The game of Siam is played on a board, with a bowl and twelve or thirteen small wooden pins. The bowl is flattened, and cut in such a manner, that by rolling it on the edge it always makes a circle that gradually diminishes, and it throws down the pins which are set up in a ring.

staid with them too, and sometimes read, at which time I sat down in obedience to her orders. This dispersion of the Royal Family often perplexed the two Municipal Officers on guard, who, anxious not to leave the King and Queen alone, were still more so not to leave one another, so great was their mutual distrust. This was the time Madame Elizabeth took to ask me questions or give me orders. I both listened to her and answered, without taking my eyes from the book in my hand, that I might not be surprized by the Municipal Officers. The Dauphin and Madame Royale, instructed by their aunt, facilitated these conversations, by being noisy in their play, and often made signs to her that the Officers were coming. I found it necessary to be particularly cautious of *Tison*, dreaded as he was, even by the Commissioners, whom he had

several times impeached: the King and Queen too treated him with kindness in vain; nothing could subdue his innate malignity.

At night, after bed time, the Municipal Officers ranged their beds in the antichamber in such a manner as to block up His Majesty's door. They also locked one of the doors in my room, by which I could have gone into the King's, and took away the key, so that if His Majesty happened to call me in the night, I was forced to pass through the antichamber, bear their ill humour, and wait till they chose to get up.

On the 7th of October, at six o'clock at night, I was summoned to the Council Chamber, where I found a score of

Municipal Officers, with *Manuel* as President, who, from being Solicitor to the Commune, was become a Member of the National Convention: the sight of him surprized and alarmed me. I was directed to remove, that very night, the ORDERS still worn by the King, such as those of *St. Louis* and the Golden Fleece: His Majesty no longer wore that of the Holy Ghost, which had been suppressed by the first Assembly.

I represented that I could not do it, and that it was not my part to make the decrees of the Council known to the King. I hoped by this to gain time to break it to His Majesty, and I perceived besides, by their embarrassment, that they were then acting without the authority of any decree either of the Convention or the Commune. The Commissioners were unwilling to go up to

the King, till *Manuel* determined them by offering to go with them. The King was sitting, and engaged in reading. *Manuel* spoke first, and the conversation which followed was as remarkable for the indecent familiarity of the Deputy, as for the temper and serenity of the Monarch.

" How do you find yourself?" said *Manuel*; " have you every thing you " want?"——" I content myself with " what I have," replied His Majesty.—— " No doubt you have heard of the victo- " ries gained by our armies, of the tak- " ing of Spires, of Nice, and of the " conquest of Savoy?"——" I heard it " mentioned some days ago, by one " of those gentlemen, who was reading " the Evening Journal."——" What! " don't you get the Journals, that are " become so interesting?"——" I never

" receive any of them."——" Oh! Sirs," said *Manuel*, turning to the Municipal Officers, and pointing to the King, " you must let *the gentleman* have the " Journals; it is right he should be in- " formed of our successes."—— Then, again addressing His Majesty—" Demo- " cratic principles are spreading: you " know that the people have abolished " Royalty, and adopted the Republican " form of government."——" I have " heard it, and I pray to GOD that the " French people may be as happy as I " have always wished to make them." ——" You know too that the National " Assembly has suppressed all *Orders of* " *Chivalry*: you ought to have been told " to leave off the ornaments of them: " returned to the class of other citizens, " you must expect to be treated like " others; with this exception, ask for " whatever you want, it shall be imme-

" diately procured for you." —— " I " thank you," said the King, " I want no- " thing."—— His Majesty here returned to his book; and *Manuel*, who had been endeavouring to discover vexation, or provoke impatience in him, had the mortification of finding only a noble resignation, and an unalterable composure.

The deputation now withdrew, and one of the Officers desired me to follow him to the Council Chamber, where I was again ordered to take the ornaments from the King's person. *Manuel* added: " You will do well to send the crosses " and ribbons to the Convention. I " must also inform you," continued he " that, *Louis*'s confinement may last " a long while, and that if it be not " your intention to remain here, you " had better take this opportunity of

" declaring it. It is also in contempla-
" tion, in order to render the superin-
" tendence more easy, to decrease the
" number of people employed in the
" Tower: if you stay with the late
" King, you will be left entirely by
" yourself, and you must expect hard
" work: wood and water will be brought
" you once a week, but it will be your
" business to clean the rooms, and do
" the rest of the work." I replied, that being determined never to forsake my Master, I would submit to every thing. I was conducted back to His Majesty's chamber, who said to me: " You heard
" what passed with those gentlemen, I
" would have you to-night take off the
" orders from my coats."

The next morning, when I was dressing the King, I told him that I had lock-

ed up the crosses and ribbons, although *Manuel* had given me to understand that it would be proper to send them to the Convention. " You have done right," replied His Majesty.

It has been reported that *Manuel* came to the Temple, in the month of September, to prevail upon His Majesty to write to the King of Prussia, at the time he marched his army into Champagne. I can testify that *Manuel* came but twice to the Temple while I was there, first, on the third of September, then on the seventh of October; that each time he was accompanied by a great number of Municipal Officers, and that he never had any private conversation with the King.

On the 9th of October, a Journal of the

debates of the Convention was brought to the King, but some days after a Municipal Officer, whose name was *Michel*, a perfumer, obtained a decree again prohibiting the admission of the public papers into the Tower. He sent for me to the Council Chamber, and asked me by what authority I had ordered the Journals to be addressed to me. In reality, without my knowing any thing of it, four Journals had every day been brought, with this direction printed: *To the valet de chambre of Louis XVI at the Tower of the Temple.* I could not find out, and am still ignorant, who paid the subscription for them. *Michel*, however, wanted to force me to tell who they were, and made me write to the editors of the Journals for information, but their answers, if they sent any, were never communicated to me.

This prohibition, however, of the Journals being admitted into the Tower, had its exceptions when those prints furnished opportunities of new insults. If they contained abusive expressions against the King or Queen, atrocious threats or infamous calumnies, some Municipal Officer or other was sure, with studied malice, to place them on the chimney-piece, or on the chest of drawers in His Majesty's chamber, that they might fall into his hands.

He once read in one of those papers, the petition of an engineer for the head of the tyrant *Louis* XVI, that he might load his piece with it, and shoot it at the enemy. Another Journal, speaking of Madame Elizabeth, and endeavouring to destroy the admiration she had excited in the public, by the noble manner in which she had devoted herself to the King and

Queen, asserted that virtuous Princess to have had a child by a Bishop, adding, that this young wolf ought to be smothered, with the two others in the Tower, meaning the Dauphin and Madame Royale.

These articles affected the King only for the sake of the people. " How very " unfortunate are the French," said he, " to suffer themselves to be imposed " upon in this manner." If I saw these Journals first, I took care to remove them out of His Majesty's way ; but they were frequently carried when I was employed elsewhere, so that very few of the articles written for the purpose of abusing the Royal Family, whether to excite the populace to regicide, or to prepare the minds of the people to suffer its being perpetrated, but what were read by the King. They only who re-

member the insolent writings that were published at that time can have an idea of this kind of unprecedented torture.

The influence of these sanguinary writings was also observable in the conduct of such of the Municipal Officers as had not before shown themselves so hard-hearted or distrustful as others.

One day after dinner, having just written an account of expences in the Council Chamber, and locked it up in a desk of which they had given me the key; my back was scarcely turned, when *Marinot*, a Municipal Officer, said to his colleagues, though he was not on duty, that they ought to open the desk, and examine its contents, to ascertain whether or not I had a correspondence with the enemies of the people. "I "know him well," added he, "and am

" sure he receives letters for the King." Then accusing his colleages of remissness, abused them violently, threatened to impeach them all before the Council of the Commune as accomplices, and went out to put his threat into execution A minute was immediately drawn up of all the papers in the desk, and sent to the Commune, where *Marinot* had already laid his information.

Another day, on seeing a draft-board, (*damier**), which, with the permission of his colleagues, I had sent to be mended, brought back, he pretended it might contain a correspondence, had it entirely taken to pieces, and, when he found nothing, made the workmen paste it together again before him.

* It was a single sheet of pasteboard.

Once my wife and her friend coming to the Tower as usual on the Thursday, I was speaking with them in the Council Chamber, when the Queen and Madame Elizabeth, who were walking, saw us, and nodded to us. This notice of mere affability was observed by *Marinot*, and it was ground enough for him to have my wife and her friend arrested as they were going out of the Council Chamber. They were examined separately: my wife being asked who the lady was that accompanied her, declared she was her sister; while to the same question the other had replied that they were cousins. This contradiction furnished subject for a long written statement,* and the most serious suspicions: *Marinot* pretending that this lady was one of the Queen's Pages in disguise.

* *Procès-verbal.*

However, after a most painful and insulting examination, that lasted three hours, they were set at liberty.

They were still permitted to come to the Tower: but we redoubled our caution. I had often in those short interviews managed to slip into their hands notes written with a pencil, which had escaped the searches of the Municipal Officers, and which I concealed with great care. These notes related to some information their Majesties wished to have: luckily on that day they had not received any; if one had been found upon them, we should all three have been in the greatest danger.

There were others of the Municipal Officers who had the most extravagant whims. One ordered some macaroons

to

to be broken to see if there was no letter concealed in them. Another, on the same pretence, had some peaches cut before him, and the stones cracked. A third, one day, compelled me to drink the essence of soap* prepared for shaving the King, affecting to apprehend it was poison. After dinner and supper, Madame Elizabeth used to give me a gold-bladed knife to clean, which the Municipal Officer would often snatch out of my hand, to examine if I had not slipt some paper into the sheath.

Madame Elizabeth having commanded me to send a book of devotion to the Dutchess *de Sérent*, the Municipal Officers cut off the margins, for fear any

* It was common for gentlemen to use soap prepared in a liquid form.

thing should have been written upon them with a secret ink.

One of them one day forbade my going up to the Queen to dress her hair: Her Majesty was to come down to the King's apartments, and to bring her powder and combs herself.

Another would follow her into Madame Elizabeth's chamber to see her change her cloaths, which she usually did at noon: I represented to him the indecency of such behaviour, but he persisted, and Her Majesty was obliged to give up dressing, and leave the room.

When the linen was brought from the wash, the Officers made me unfold article by article, and examined it always by day-light. The washerwoman's book, and every paper used for packing,

were held to the fire, to ascertain whether there were not any secret writing upon them. The linen, after having been worn by the King, Queen, Prince, and Princesses, was in like manner examined before it was given out.

There were, however, some of the Municipal Officers who were not so hardened as their colleagues: but most of these becoming suspected by the Committee of Public Safety have fallen victims to their humanity, and those who are still alive have been long groaning in confinement.

A young man called *Toulan*, whom by his manner of speaking, I thought to be one of the greatest enemies of the Royal Family, came up to me one day, and pressing my hand, said with an air

of mystery:—" I can't speak to the " Queen to-day, on account of my com- " rades; let her know that I have exe- " cuted her commission, that in a few " days I shall be on duty, and that I " will then bring her an answer."—— Amazed on hearing him speak thus, and fearing that he was laying a snare for me, I answered, that he was mistaken in addressing himself to me on such errands. " No, I am not mistaken," replied he, pressing my hand with still more warmth, and retiring. On my informing the Queen of this conversation, she told me I might trust *Toulan*. This young man was afterwards involved on Her Majesty's trial, with nine other Municipal Officers, accused of having agreed to favour her escape at the time she was at the Temple. *Toulan* was put to death.

THEIR Majesties, for three months that they had now been shut up in the Tower had been accustomed to the sight only of Municipal Officers, when on the 1st of November, a deputation from the National Convention was announced to them. This deputation consisted of *Drouet*, the Post-Master at Varennes, *Chabot*, formerly a Capuchin, *Dubois-Crancé*, *Duprat* and two others whose names I do not recollect. The Royal Family, and particularly the Queen, shuddered with horror at the sight of *Drouet*, who insolently seated himself by her: *Chabot*, following his example, also took a chair. They asked the King how he was treated, and if he was supplied with necessaries. "I complain of "nothing," replied His Majesty, "and "only request that the Committee will "supply my valet de chambre with "2000 livres, or leave it with the Coun-

" cil, to defray the small current ex-
" pences, and that we may have some
" linen and other cloaths, of which we
" are in the greatest need." The Deputies promised it should be attended to, but nothing was sent.

Some days after, the King caught a great cold in his head, on which I requested that M. *Dubois*, His Majesty's Dentist, might be sent for. It was debated for three days, and at last refused. A fever coming on, His Majesty was permitted to consult M. *le Monnier*, his chief Physician. It would be difficult to paint the grief of this venerable old man when he saw his Master.

The Queen and her children never left the King during the day, waited upon him with me, and often assisted me to make his bed. At night, I sat up alone

with His Majesty. M. *le Monnier* came twice a day, accompanied by a great number of Municipal Officers: he was searched, and not permitted to speak but in a loud voice. Once when the King had taken medicine, M. *le Monnier* begged to stay some hours with him: as he continued standing, while the Municipal Officers were sitting with their hats on, His Majesty asked him to take a chair, which he refused through respect, at which the Commissioners loudly murmured. The King continued ill ten days.

Soon after, the young Prince, who slept in His Majesty's chamber, and whom the Officers would not consent to have removed to the Queen's, caught a cold which was attended with fever. The Queen was the more anxious about

it, as she could not obtain permission, although she used the most fervent entreaties, to be all night with her son. During the time she was allowed to be with him she attended him with the most affectionate care. The Queen afterwards caught the same disorder, and so did Madame Royale and Madame Elizabeth. M. *le Monnier* was suffered to continue his visits.

I fell ill in my turn. My room was damp, and without a fire-place, and the little air I breathed in it was confined by the slanting skreen at the window. I was attacked with a rheumatic fever and great pain in the side that forced me to keep my bed. I got up the first morning to wait upon the King, but His Majesty, seeing the state I was in, would not suffer it, but ordered me to

go

go to bed, and dressed the Dauphin himself.

During the first day the Dauphin scarcely ever left me; he brought me all that I drank. At night, the King took an opportunity, when he was least observed, to come into my room: he made me take a glass of cooling liquor, and said to me, with a kindness that brought tears into my eyes: "I wish I "could attend you myself, but you "know how we are watched: keep up "your spirits; to-morrow you will see "my Physician." At supper time, the Royal Family came into my room, and Madame Elizabeth, unperceived by the Municipal Officer, gave me a small bottle of linctus. Though she had a violent cold, she deprived herself of the medicine to give it to me: I wished to

have declined it, but she insisted upon my taking it. After supper, the Queen undressed the Prince and put him to bed, and Madame Elizabeth rolled the King's hair.

The next morning, M. *le Monnier* ordered me to be blooded, but the consent of the Commune was necessary for the admission of a Surgeon. They talked of removing me to the Palace in the Temple: but fearing I should never be permitted to return to the Tower, if once I went out of it, I excused myself from the bleeding, and even pretended to be better. At night, we had new Municipal Officers, and nothing more was said about removing me.

Turgi asked if he might sit up with me at night, which he and his two comrades were allowed to do, and they took it in turn. I was six days confined to my

bed, and the Royal Family came to see me every day. Madame Elizabeth often brought me medecines which she ordered as for herself. So many kind attentions greatly recruited my strength; and instead of feeling pain I had very soon only to feel gratitude and admiration. Who but would have been affected at seeing this august Family in a manner suspending the remembrance of their own protracted miseries, to attend the sick bed of one of their servants!

Here I must not forget to relate an action of the Dauphin's, which proves how great was the goodness of his heart, and how he profited by the example of virtue which he had continually before his eyes.

One evening after putting him to bed,

I withdrew to give place for the Queen and Princesses, who went to kiss him, and wish him good night in his bed. Madame Elizabeth who had been prevented from speaking to me by the watchfulness of the Municipal Officers, took that time to put into his hand a little box of ipecacuana lozenges, desiring him to give it to me when I came back. The Queen and Princesses went up to their apartments, the King retired to his closet, and I took my supper. It was eleven o'clock before I went back to the King's chamber to turn down His Majesty's bed: I was alone, and the Prince called me in a low voice: I was much surprized to find him awake, and fearing he was ill, asked what was the matter. "Nothing," said he, "only "my aunt left me a little box for you, "and I would not go to sleep before I "gave it you; I am glad you are come,

" for my eyes have been already shut " several times." The tears came into mine, he perceived it, and kissed me, and in two minutes was fast asleep.

To this sensibility the Prince added a great many attractions, and all the amiable qualities of his age. He would often by his arch simplicity*, the liveliness of his disposition, and his little frolics, make his august parents forget their mournful situation; yet he felt it himself: he knew, young as he was, that he was in a prison, and that he was watched by enemies. His words and actions had assumed that circumspection which instinct prompts perhaps at every age under circumstances of danger. I never heard him speak either of the Thuilleries, or of Versailles, or of any object

* *Naïveté.*

that could recall to the King or Queen a painful recollection. If he saw a Municipal Officer more civil than his colleagues coming, away he ran to the Queen in haste to tell her of it, saying, with his countenance full of satisfaction:—"Mamma, it is Mr. Such-a-one to-day."

One day, he kept his eyes fixed upon a Municipal Officer, whom he said he recollected: the man asked him where he had seen him, but the Prince refused to answer; then leaning over to the Queen, "It was," said he to her in a low voice, "in our journey to Varennes."

The following anecdote affords another proof of his sensibility.—There was a stone-cutter employed in making holes at the antichamber door to admit enormous bolts; the Prince, while the man was eating his breakfast, played with

his tools: the King took the mallet and chisel out of his son's hands, and showed him how to handle them. He used them for some minutes. The workman, moved at seeing the King so employed, said to His Majesty:—"When you go "out of this Tower you will be able "to say that you had worked yourself "at your own prison."——"Ah!" replied the King, "when and how shall I "go out?"——The Dauphin burst into tears, and the King, letting fall the mallet and chisel, returned to his room, where he walked about hastily and in great agitation.

On the second of December, the Municipality of the 10th of August was superceded by another, with the title of Provisionary Municipality. Many of the former Municipal Officers were re-

elected. I at first supposed that this new body might be of a better composition than the former, and I hoped some favourable changes in the regulation of the prison; but I was disappointed. Several of the new Officers gave me reason to regret their predecessors: they were still coarser in their manners, but I found it easy, from their way of talking, to make myself acquainted with whatever they knew. I had to study the Members of this new Municipality in order to judge of their conduct and disposition: the former ones were more insolent; the malice of the latter was more systematic and refined.

Till this period, the King had been attended only by one Municipal Officer, and the Queen by another. The new Municipality ordered that there should be

be two to each, and thence forward; I found it more difficult to speak with the King and the Royal Family. On the other hand, the Council which had hitherto been held in one of the halls in the Palace of the Temple, was removed to a chamber on the ground floor of the Tower. The new Municipal Officers were desirous of surpassing the former in zeal, and this zeal was an emulation of tyranny.

On the 7th of December, an Officer at the head of a deputation of the Commune came to the King, and read a decree, ordering that the persons in confinement should be deprived of "knives, "razors, scissars, and all other sharp "instruments, which are usually taken "from criminals, and that the strictest "search should be made for the same,

" as well on their persons as in their " apartments." In reading this his voice faultered: it was easy to perceive the violence he did to his feelings, and he has since shown by his conduct, that he had consented to come to the Temple, only in the hope of being useful to the Royal Family.

The King took out of his pockets a knife and a small Morocco pocket-book, from which he gave the penknife and scissars. The Officers searched every corner of the apartment, and carried off the razors, the curling irons, the powder-scraper, instruments for the teeth, and other articles of gold and silver. The same search was made in my room, and I was ordered to empty my pockets.

They then went up to the Queen, read

the decree over again to her and the Princesses, and deprived them even of the little articles they used in working.

In an hour afterwards, I was summoned to the Council Chamber, where I was asked if I did not know what were the articles that remained in the pocket-book, which the King had returned into his pocket. " I order you," said a Municipal Officer named *Sermaize*, " to take " the pocket-book away this night." I replied, that it was not my business to put the decrees of the Commune into execution, nor to search the King's pockets. " *Cléry* is in the right," said another Municipal Officer, addressing himself to *Sermaize*, " it was your business to have " made the search."

A minute was made of all the articles

taken from the Royal Family; which were put up in separate packets and sealed. I was then commanded to sign my name to an order, by which I was enjoined to give notice to the Council if I found any sharp instruments in possession of the King or Royal Family, or in any of their apartments. These different articles were all sent to the Commune.

By examining the registers of the Council of the Temple, it may be seen that I had often been compelled to sign decrees and demands of which I was very far from approving either the form or substance. I never did sign any thing, say any thing, or do any thing but as specially directed by the King or Queen. A refusal on my part might have separated me from their Majesties, to whom I had devoted my existence; and my

signature at the bottom of certain decrees only went to show that they had been read to me.

Sermaize, the same person of whom I have been speaking, went with me to His Majesty's apartment. The King was sitting at the fire, with the tongs in his hand. *Sermaize* desired by authority of the Council to see what was left in the pocket-book: the King took it out of his pocket and opened it. It contained a turn-screw, a gun-worm and a little gun-steel. *Sermaize* made him give them up. The King turning on his heel, asked if the tongs he held in his hand were not also a sharp instrument? When the Municipal Officer was gone down I had an opportunity of informing His Majesty of all that had passed at the Council relative to this second search.

At dinner time, a dispute arose amongst the Commissioners. Some were against the Royal Family's using knives and forks, others were for letting them have the forks, and it was at last decided that no change should be made, but that the knives and forks should be taken away after every meal.

The Queen and the Princesses were the more sensible of the loss of the little articles that had been taken from them, as they were in consequence forced to give up different works, which till then had served to divert their attention during the tedious days of a prison. Once as Madame Elizabeth was mending the King's coat, having no scissars, she bit off the thread with her teeth. "What "a reverse!" said the King, looking tenderly on her, "you were in want of no- "thing at your pretty house of Mon- "treuil."——"Ah! brother," replied

she, " can I feel a regret of any kind " when I share your misfortunes ?"

Meanwhile, every day brought new decrees, every one of which was a fresh tyranny. The rude harshness of the Municipal Officers towards me was more remarkable than ever. The three attendants were again forbidden to speak to me, and every thing seemed to forebode some new misfortune. The Queen and Madame Elizabeth felt the same presentiment, and were continually applying to me for news, which it was not in my power to give. I did not expect to see my wife in less than three days; my impatience was extreme.

At length, on Thursday, my wife came: I was called to the Council Chamber. She affected to speak loud to avoid the suspicions of our new inspectors,

and while she was giving me an account of our domestic affairs, her friend in a lower voice, told me that on the succeeding Tuesday, the King was to be carried to the Convention, that he was to be put upon his trial, that he was to be allowed counsel, and that all this was certain.

I was at a loss how to open this horrible news to the King, and wished first to inform the Queen or Madame Elizabeth of it; but I was under the greatest apprehensions: there was no time to be lost, and the King had expressly forbidden me to conceal any thing from him. At night, when I was undressing him, I told him what I had heard, and went so far as to hint that there was an intention of separating him from his Family during the trial, adding that there were

but

but four days more to concert with the Queen some mode of corresponding with her. I also assured him that there was nothing I was not resolved to undertake to assist in it. Here the appearance of the Municipal Officers did not permit me to say more upon the subject, and prevented His Majesty from making any answer.

The next morning, I could not find an opportunity of speaking to the King when he was getting up: he went with the Dauphin to breakfast in the Queen's apartment, where I attended him. After breakfast he continued some time conversing with the Queen, who, by a look, full of grief, made me understand that the intelligence I had given the King was the subject of their conversation. In the course of the day, finding an op-

portunity of speaking to Madame Elizabeth, I mentioned to her how much pain it had cost me to increase the sufferings of the King, by informing him of the day on which he was to be brought to trial. It was much comfort to me to hear her say, that the King felt that mark of my attachment. " What af-
" flicts him most," added she, " is the
" dread of being separated from us: en-
" deavour to gain some further intel-
" ligence."

At night, the King assured me that he was very glad to have been apprized that he was to appear before the Convention. " Continue," said he, " to
" endeavour to find out what they are
" going to do with me, and don't be
" afraid of giving me pain. I have
" agreed with my Family not to appear

" informed of what is passing, that you " may not be suspected."

The nearer the day of the trial approached, the more was I distrusted: the Municipal Officers would not answer any of my questions. I had in vain been forming different pretences to go down to the Council, where I might have collected fresh particulars to communicate to the King, when a commission arrived at the Temple, charged to audit the accounts of the Royal Family. They were under the necessity of having me present to speak to the articles of expences, and I learnt through a Municipal Officer, whose dispositions were friendly, that the decree for separating the King from his Family had been passed only in the Commune, and not yet in the National Assembly. On

the same day, *Turgi* brought me a newspaper containing the decree which ordained that the King should be brought to the bar of the Convention; he also gave me a Memorial, published by M. *Necker*, on the King's trial. The only means I had of communicating this newspaper and Memorial to the Royal Family was by hiding them under a piece of furniture in the King's water-closet. Having informed the Family of the circumstance, they had it in their power successively to read them. This closet was the only place into which the Municipal Officers did not follow them.

On the eleventh of December 1792, by five o'clock in the morning, the drum was heard beating to arms throughout Paris, and a troop of horse with cannon were marched into the garden of the Temple. This noise would have given

a dreadful alarm to the Royal Family, had they not been apprized of the cause: they feigned, however, to be ignorant of it, and asked an explanation of the Commissioners on duty, who refused to make any reply.

At nine o'clock, the King and the Dauphin went up to breakfast with the Queen and Princesses: their Majesties remained together an hour, but always in sight of the Municipal Officers. This constant torment which the Royal Family suffered in not being able to give a loose to any unrestrained expression of their feelings, to any free effusion of their hearts, at a moment when they could not but be agitated with so many fears, was one of the most cruel refinements, and dearest delights of their tyrants. They were at last obliged to part. The King left the Queen, Madame Eli-

zabeth, and his daughter, and what they dared not speak their looks expressed: the Dauphin came down as usual with the King.

The Prince, who often prevailed on His Majesty to play a game of Siam with him, was so pressing that day that the King, in spite of his situation, could not refuse him. The Dauphin lost every game, and twice he could get no farther than *sixteen*. "Whenever," cried he, in a little pet, "I get to the "point of *sixteen*, I am sure never to "win the game." The King said nothing, but he seemed to feel the coincidence of the words.

At eleven o'clock, when the King was hearing the Dauphin read, two Municipal Officers walked in and told His Majesty that they were come to carry

the young *Louis* to his mother. The King desired to know why he was taken away: the Commissioners replied, that they were executing the orders of the Council of the Commune. The King tenderly embraced his son, and charged me to conduct him. On my return I assured His Majesty that I had delivered the Prince to the Queen, which appeared to relieve his mind. One of the Municipal Officers came back and informed him that *Chambon*, Mayor of Paris, was with the Council, and that he was just coming up. "What does he want with "me?" said the King. The Officer answered, that he did not know.

His Majesty for some minutes walked about his room in much agitation, then sat down in an armed chair at the head of the bed: the door stood a jar, but the Officer did not like to go in, wish-

ing, as he told me, to avoid questions: but half an hour passing thus in dead silence, he became uneasy at not hearing the King move, and went softly in; he found him leaning with his head upon his hand, apparently in deep thought. The King, on being disturbed, said, raising his voice: "What do you want "with me?"——"I was afraid," answered the Officer, "that you were ill." ——"I am obliged to you," replied the King, in an accent replete with anguish, "but the manner in which they have "taken my son from me cuts me to the "heart." The Municipal Officer withdrew without saying a word.

The Mayor did not make his appearance till one o'clock. He was accompanied by *Chaumette*, Solicitor to the Commune, *Coulombeau*, Secretary of the

Rolls, several Municipal Officers, and *Santerre*, Commander in Chief of the National Guards, attended by his aid-de-camps. The Mayor told the King that he came to conduct him to the Convention, by virtue of a decree, which the Secretary to the Commune would read to him. The import of the decree was, "that *Louis Capet* should be "brought to the bar of the National "Convention." —— "*Capet*," said the King, "is not my name: it is that of "one of my Ancestors." He added, "I "could have wished, Sir, that the Com-"missioners had left my son with me "during the two hours I have passed "waiting for you: but this treatment is "of a piece with the rest I have met "with here for these four months. I "am ready to follow you, not in obe-"dience to the Convention, but because

" my enemies have the power in their " hands." I gave His Majesty his great coat and hat, and he followed the Mayor. A strong body of guards was waiting for him at the gate of the Temple.

Remaining alone in the chamber with a Municipal Officer, I learnt from him that the King was not to see his Family again, but that the Mayor had still to consult with some Deputies respecting this separation. I begged to be conducted to the Dauphin, who was with the Queen, and this was granted me. I staid with him till about six in the evening, when the King returned from the Convention. The Municipal Officers informed the Queen of the King's departure but without entering into any particulars. The Family came down as usual to dine in His Majesty's apartment, and then went up again.

After dinner, there was but one Municipal Officer remained with the Queen. He was a young man about four-and-twenty years old, of the Section of the Temple: it was the first time he had ever been upon guard at the Tower; and he appeared less suspicious, and less uncivil than the generality of his colleagues. The Queen entered into conversation with him, and asked him questions about his situation, his family and the like; while Madame Elizabeth took the opportunity of beckoning me to follow her to another room.

Here I informed her that the Commune had decreed to separate the King from his Family, and that I was afraid the separation would take place that very night: for though it was true that nothing respecting it had been done in

the Convention, yet the Mayor was charged to make the application, and would no doubt succeed. " The Queen " and myself," replied she, " look for " the worst, and do not deceive our- " selves as to the fate preparing for the " King: he will die a sacrifice to the " goodness of his heart, and love for " his people, for whose happiness he " has never ceased to labour since he " mounted the Throne. How cruelly " is this people deceived! As for him, " his Religion, and that perfect reliance " he has upon Providence, will support " him in this sad moment of adversity. " You, *Cléry*," continued this virtuous Princess, with tears in her eyes, " will " now be the only person with my bro- " ther: redouble, if possible, your at- " tentions to him, and omit no oppor- " tunity of giving us intelligence res- " pecting him; but on no other account

" expose yourself, for then we should " have nobody on whom we could rely." I repeated to her my assurances of devotion to the King, and we agreed upon means by which we could keep up a correspondence.

Turgi was the only person I could entrust with the secret, and to him I could speak but seldom and cautiously. It was agreed that I should continue to keep the Dauphin's linen and cloaths; that every other day I should send him a change, and take the opportunity to give intelligence of what was passing about the King. This plan suggested to Madame Elizabeth the idea of my receiving one of her handkerchiefs, " which," said she, " you will keep " when my brother is well, but if he " should be ill, you will send it among " my nephew's linen." The manner

of folding it was to show the nature of the disorder.

The anguish of the Princess, while speaking of her brother, her indifference as to herself, the value which she was pleased to attach to my poor endeavours in the service of His Majesty, all deeply affected me. " Have you heard any " thing respecting the Queen ?" said she, with a sort of terror: " Alas! of what " can they accuse her ?"——" Nay, Ma- " dame," I replied, " of what can they " accuse the King ?"——" Oh! nothing; " no, nothing;" she answered, " but, per- " haps, they may look upon the King " as a victim necessary to their safety; " but surely the Queen and her children " would be no obstacles to their ambi- " tion !"—— I took the liberty of ob- serving that, no doubt, the King could only be sentenced to banishment, that I

had heard it spoken of, and that as Spain had not declared war, it was likely that he would be sent with his Family into that kingdom. " I have no hope," said she, " that the King will be saved."

I thought it proper to add that the foreign powers were busy in forming plans to extricate the King from his imprisonment; that MONSIEUR, and the Count *d'Artois*, were again assembling all the emigrants, to join the Austrian and Prussian armies; that Spain and England would take steps, and that all Europe was interested to prevent the death of the King, that the Convention would therefore have to reflect seriously before they pronounced upon His Majesty's fate.

This conversation lasted near an hour, when Madame Elizabeth, with whom

I had never spoken for so long a time, fearing the arrival of the new Municipal Officers, left me, in order to return to the Queen's chamber. *Tison* and his wife, who were perpetually watching me, observed that I had been a great while with Madame Elizabeth, and that it was to be feared the Commissioner had perceived it. I told them that the Princess had been speaking to me about her *nephew*, who would probably in future remain with his *mother*.

I returned in a few minutes to Her Majesty's chamber, to whom Madame Elizabeth had been communicating her conversation with me, and the means we had concerted for effecting a correspondence; Her Majesty had the goodness to express her satisfaction.

At six o'clock, the Commissioners took me down to the Council; where they read to me a decree of the Commune, ordering that I should no longer have any communication with the Queen, the Princesses or the young Prince, because I was appointed to wait upon the King alone: it was even decreed at first, with a view of putting the King into some sort of close confinement, that I should not sleep in his apartments, but be lodged in the little Tower, and only conducted to His Majesty when he wanted me.

At half after six o'clock, the King returned: he appeared fatigued, and the first thing he did was to desire to be shown to his Family. This was objected to, under the pretence of having no orders: he insisted that they should at

least be informed of his return, which was promised him. The King then ordered me to speak for his supper at half past eight; he employed the interval of two hours, in reading as usual, but all the while surrounded by four Municipal Officers.

At half past eight, I informed His Majesty that supper was served. He asked the Commissioners if his Family were not coming down: they made him no answer. "But at least," said the King, "my son is to sleep in my ap-
"partment, as his bed and things
"are here." Still no reply. After supper, the King renewed his instances to see his Family: and was told that he must wait the determination of the Convention. I then delivered up the Dauphin's night things.

When I was undressing the King for bed he said, that he could never have conceived all the questions they had put to him; and then lay down with great tranquillity. The decree of the Commune, relative to lodging me at a distance, was not put into execution: it would have been too troublesome for the Municipal Officers to have come for me every time the King wanted my attendance.

On the morning of the 12th, the moment the King saw a Municipal Officer, he asked if there had been any determination respecting the request he had made to see his Family; and was again answered that they waited for orders. He then begged that Officer to go and enquire how the Queen, the Princesses, and the Dauphin were, and tell them

that he was well. The Commissioner returned with an account of their being in good health. The King then gave me orders to send his son's bed up to the Queen's apartments, where the young Prince had slept on one of her mattrasses. I begged His Majesty to wait the determination of the Convention; to which he replied: " I expect no consideration, " no justice, but let us wait."

The same day, a deputation from the Convention, composed of four Deputies: *Thuriot*, *Cambacérès*, *Dubois-Crancé* and *Dupont de Bigorre*, brought the decree authorizing the King to employ Counsel. He said, he chose M. *Target*, or if he declined it, M. *Tronchet*, but both of them, if the National Convention would agree to it. The Deputies made the King sign this demand, and countersigned it themselves. His Majes-

ty added, that he should want paper, pen and ink. He gave M. *Tronchet*'s address, at his country house, but said he did not know where M. *Target* lived.

On the 13th, in the morning, the same deputation returned to the Temple, and informed the King, that M. *Target* had declined taking his defence upon him, and that M. *Tronchet* had been sent for, and was expected in the course of the day. They then read to him several letters which were addressed to the Convention by M. *Sourdat*, M. *Huet*, M. *Guillaume*, and M. *de Lamoignon de Malesherbes*, who had been formerly first President of the Court of Aids in Paris, and afterwards Minister of the King's Household. M. *de Malesherbes*' letter was as follows:

Paris, December 11th, 1792.

" CITIZEN PRESIDENT,

" I am yet uninformed whether the " Convention will allow the defence of " LOUIS XVI. to be undertaken by " Counsel or not. If it be allowed, and " the choice of Counsel be left to him, " I request that LOUIS XVI. may know " that, if he thinks proper to choose " me for that office, I am ready to un- " dertake it. I do not ask you to make " my offer known to the Convention, " for I am far from thinking myself of " sufficient importance to engage their " attention: but I was twice appointed " a Member of the Council of him " who was my Master, at a time when " that office excited a general ambition: " I feel it to be my duty to offer myself " as his Counsel now that that duty is " thought dangerous by many. If I

" knew any possible mode of making " my intention known to him, I should " not take the liberty of applying to " you. I imagine the place you fill " affords you the means, more than " any other person, of sending him this " information.

" I am, with respect, &c.

(Signed) " L. DE MALESHERBES."

His Majesty said: " I receive with " sensibility the offers of the gentlemen " who desire to be my Counsel, and I " request you to express my acknow- " ledgments to them. I accept that of " M. *de Malesherbes*. If I cannot have " M. *Tronchet's* services, I shall consult " M. *de Malesherbes* on the choice of an- " other."

ON the 14th of December, M. *Tronchet* had a conference with His Majesty, agreeably to the decree. On the same day, M. *de Malesherbes* was introduced into the Tower: the King ran to meet this venerable man, and pressed him affectionately to his bosom, while the old Statesman melted into tears at the sight of his Master—whether it was that the first happy years of that Master's reign rushed upon his memory, or rather that he saw at that moment only the virtuous man struggling with adversity. As the King had permission to consult with his Counsel in private, I shut his chamber door that he might be able to speak more freely with M. *de Malesherbes*; for which I was reprimanded by a Municipal Officer, who ordered me to open it, and forbade my shutting it in future; I opened the door, but His Majesty

Majesty had withdrawn to the turret-closet.

In this first conference, the King and M. *de Malesherbes* spoke very loud: the Commissioners, who were in the chamber, listened to their conversation, and could hear every thing. When M. *de Malesherbes* was gone, I informed His Majesty of the prohibition I had received from them, and of the attention with which they had listened to the conference, begging that he would himself shut the door of his chamber when his Counsel were with him; which, in future, he did.

On the 15th, the King received an answer relative to his Family: which was in substance, that the Queen and Madame Elizabeth should have no communication with the King during the

trial, but that his children might be with him, if he desired it, on condition that they were not allowed to see their mother or their aunt, till his examination was concluded. The first moment I could speak to His Majesty in private, I asked for his orders. " You see," said the King, " the cruel dilemma in which " they have placed me. I cannot think " of having my children with me: as " for my daughter, she is out of the " question, and I know what pain the " Queen would suffer in giving up my " son: I must make the sacrifice." His Majesty then repeated his orders for the removal of the Prince's bed; which I immediately executed. I kept his linen and cloaths, and sent him a change every other day, as had been agreed upon with Madame Elizabeth.

On the 16th, at four in the afternoon,

there came another deputation of four Members of the Convention: *Valazé*, *Cochon*, *Grandpré*, and *Duprat*, part of the Committee of Twenty-one, appointed to superintend the King's trial. They were accompanied by a Secretary, a Sergeant,* and an Officer of the Guard belonging to the Convention: they brought the King a copy of his impeachment, and papers relative to the proceedings against him, the greater part of which were found at the Thuilleries in a secret press in His Majesty's apartments, called by *Roland*, *the iron press.*

The reading of these papers, to the number of one hundred and seven, lasted from four o'clock till midnight. They were all read and marked by the King,

* *Huissier.*

as likewise copies of them, which were left in his hands: the King sat at a large table, with M. *Tronchet* by his side; the Deputies sat opposite to him. After the reading of each piece, *Valazé* asked the King if he had any knowledge of it, and similar questions. His Majesty answered yes or no, without further explanation. A second Deputy gave him the papers and copies to sign, and a third offered to read them over again each time; with which His Majesty always dispensed. It was the business of the fourth to call over the papers by packets and by numbers, and the Secretary entered them on a register one by one as they were handed to the King.

His Majesty interrupted the sitting to ask the Deputies of the Convention if they would not go to supper; to which they consented, and I served a cold

fowl and some fruit in the eating-room. M. *Tronchet* would not take any thing, and remained alone with the King in his chamber.

A Municipal Officer, named *Merceraut*, at that time a stone-cutter, and late President of the Commune of Paris, though a chairman at Versailles before the Revolution, happened to be upon guard at the Temple for the first time. He had on his working cloaths, which were in rags, an old worn-out round hat, a leather apron, and his tri-coloured scarf. This fellow had the affectation to stretch himself out by the King in an armed-chair, while His Majesty was sitting on a common chair; and with his hat on his head, *thee'd* and *thou'd** every body who addressed any conversation to him:

* *Tutoyer.*

the Members of the Convention were astonished at it, and one of them, during supper, asked me several questions concerning this *Mercerant*, and of the manner in which the Municipality treated the King. To this I was going to answer when another Commissioner told him to discontinue his questions, that it was forbidden to speak with me, and that in the Council Chamber he should be made acquainted with every particular he could desire. The Deputy, apprehensive of having gone too far, made no reply.

The examination was now resumed. In the number of papers presented to His Majesty he took notice of the declaration which he had made on his return from Varennes, when Messrs. *Tronchet*, *Barnave* and *Duport* were appointed by the Constituant Assembly to receive

it. This Declaration had been signed by the King and the Deputies. " You will " admit the authenticity of this paper," said the King to M. *Tronchet*, " your own " signature is to it."

Some of the packets contained plans for a Constitution, with marginal notes written in His Majesty's hand; several of which were in ink, and several in pencil. Some registers of the Police were also shown to the King, in which there were informations written and signed by his own servants: His Majesty seemed much affected by this proof of ingratitude. These informers pretended to relate occurrences that passed in the King's or Queen's apartments in the Palace of the Thuilleries only to give more appearance of probability to their calumnies.

After the Members of the Deputation had retired, the King took some refreshment, and went to bed without complaining of the fatigue he had suffered. He only asked me if his Family had been kept waiting for supper: on my replying in the negative—" I should " have been afraid," said he, " that the " delay would have made them uneasy." He even had the goodness to find fault with me for not supping before him.

Some days after, the four members of the Committee of Twenty-one, came again to the Temple. They read fifty-one new papers to the King, which he signed and marked as he had done the former, making in the whole 158 papers of which copies were left with him.

From the 14th to the 26th of December,

ber, the King regularly saw his Counsel, who came at five in the afternoon and returned at nine. M. *de Sèze* was added to the number. Every morning M. *de Malesherbes* brought his Majesty the newspapers, and printed opinions of the Deputies respecting his trial. He arranged the business for every evening, and staid an hour or two with His Majesty. The King often had the condescension to give me some of the printed opinions to read, and would afterwards ask me, what I thought of the opinion of such a one. I told His Majesty, I wanted words to express my indignation; " but you, Sire," said I, " I wonder how " you can read it all without horror."—— " I see the extent of men's wickedness," replied the King, " and I did not be- " lieve there were such in existence." His Majesty never went to bed till he

had read these different papers, and then, in order not to involve M. *de Malesherbes*, he took care to burn them himself, at the stove in his closet.

I had by this time found a favourable opportunity of speaking to *Turgi*, and of charging him with news of the King to Madame Elizabeth. *Turgi* apprized me next morning, that, in giving him her napkin after dinner, she had slipt into his hand a little piece of paper, on which she had punctured with a pin her desire that I should beg the King to write her a line with his own hand. This I communicated to His Majesty that same evening. As he had been furnished with paper and ink since the beginning of his trial, he wrote his Sister a note, which he gave me unsealed, saying, that it contained nothing that could endanger me, and desired me to read it.

In this last particular, I besought His Majesty to allow me for the first time to disobey him.

The next day I gave the note to *Turgi*, who brought an answer in a ball of cotton, which he threw under my bed, as he passed my chamber door. His Majesty saw with great pleasure that this mode of hearing from his Family had succeeded; and I observed to him that it was easy to continue the correspondence. On receiving notes from His Majesty, I folded them into as small a size as I could, and wound cotton about them; I then put them into the cupboard where the plates were kept for dinner; *Turgi* found them there, and made use of different means to return me the answers. When I gave them to the King, he always said with kindness

to me: " Take care; you expose your-
" self too much."

The wax-tapers which the Commissioners sent me, were tied up in packages. When I had collected a sufficient quantity of the packthread, I observed to the King, that it now depended on himself to carry on the correspondence with more dispatch, by conveying some of this packthread to Madame Elizabeth, whose room was over mine, and the window of which was in a direct line above that of a small corridor, to which my chamber opened. The Princess, in the night, could tie her letters to this packthread, and let them down to the window that was under her's. A sort of screen, something resembling a scuttle, at each window, prevented the possibility of her letters falling into the garden; and, by the same means, the

Princess might receive answers. A little paper and ink, of which the Queen and Princesses had been deprived, might also be tied to the packthread. " The pro-" ject is a good one," said His Majesty, " and we will make use of it, if that " which we have hitherto employed " should become impracticable." It was actually practiced in the sequel by the King. He used always to wait till eight o'clock at night for the purpose; I then shut the doors of my chamber and the corridor, and talked with the Commissioners, or engaged them at play, to divert their attention.

It was about this time that *Marchand*, one of the servants in attendance, who was father of a family, and had just received his wages for two months, amounting to 200 livres, was robbed in the Temple. The loss to him was serious.

The King, who had observed his dejection, being informed of the cause, desired me to give him the 200 livres, and to charge him at the same time not to mention it to any body, and particularly not to attempt to thank him; " for," added the King, " that would be his de-" struction." *Marchand* was sensibly touched by His Majesty's bounty, but still more so by the prohibition to express his gratitude.

Since his separation from the Royal Family, the King had constantly refused to go down to the garden. When it was proposed to him, his reply was: " I " cannot think of going out by myself; " I only found the walk agreeable by " enjoying it with my Family." But, though deprived of the dearest objects of his heart, and certain of the destiny that awaited himself, he suffered not a

complaint, nor a murmur, to escape his lips. He had already forgiven his oppressors. Every day, in his reading-closet, he acquired new strength to sustain his natural fortitude; and those hours, which he passed out of it, were spent in the details of a life always uniform, but always adorned with numberless instances of goodness. He condescended to treat me as if I had been more than his servant. He behaved to the Municipal Officers who guarded him as if he had no reason to complain of them, and talked with them, as he used formerly to do with any of his subjects, about their occupations, their families, the advantages, and the duties of their respective situations. They were astonished at the justness of his remarks, at the variety of his ideas, and at the method with which they were classed in his memory. His object, in these conver-

sations, was not to divert his mind from the recollection of his sufferings; his sensibility was both active and strong, but his resignation was still superior to his misfortunes.

On the 19th of December, breakfast was brought as usual for the King; it was Wednesday: but not thinking of the Ember Weeks, I presented it to him: " This is a fast-day," said he; and I carried the breakfast back to the eating-room: when the Municipal Officer (one *Dorat de Cubieres)* said deridingly to me: " No doubt you will follow your mas- " ter's example, and fast too."——" No, " Sir," I replied, " I have need of some " breakfast to-day." Some days after, His Majesty gave me a newspaper to read, which had been brought by M. *de Malesherbes*, where I found this anecdote entirely

entirely misrepresented. " There," said the King, " you will see that they have " given you the character of a mischief " maker; they would much rather have " given you that of an hypocrite."

The same day, the 19th, at dinner, the King said to me before three or four Municipal Officers: " This day fourteen " years you were up earlier than you " were this morning."——I immediately understood His Majesty, who added: " My daughter was born that day." He then exclaimed with emotion: " And " am I not to see her on her birth-day!" Some tears trickled down his cheeks, and for a moment there was a respectful silence.

The King sent word to Madame Royale, that he wished to know what

present she chose he should make her. She desired to have an almanack like the little Court Calendar; which the King ordered me to get, and also the Republican Almanack for him, which had superseded the Royal Almanack. He often looked it over, and marked the names with a pencil.

The King was now soon to make his appearance at the bar of the Convention. He had not been shaved since his razors had been taken away, and his beard had been very troublesome to him. He was obliged to bathe his face in cold water several times every day. He desired me to procure for myself a pair of scissars, or a razor; for he did not chuse to speak about it himself to the Municipal Officers. I took the liberty of suggesting that, if he would appear as he was at the Assembly, the

people would at least see with what barbarity the Council General had acted towards him. " It does not become me," said the King, " to take steps to excite " commiseration." I applied to the Municipal Officers, and next day the Commune resolved that His Majesty's razors should be returned, but that he was not to have the liberty of using them except in the presence of two of the Officers.

For three days before Christmas, the King was more engaged than usual in writing. At this time, a design was formed of detaining him at the Feuillans for a day or two, that they might pass sentence without adjourning. I had even received orders to be ready to attend him, and to collect what he might want; but the design was given up. On Christmas day His Majesty wrote his

Will. I read, and copied it, at the time when it was sent to the Council at the Temple; it was entirely written by the King's own hand, with a few erasures. I think it my duty here to set down this monument of his innocence and of his piety, now registered in Heaven.

THE WILL OF LOUIS XVI.

" IN THE NAME of the Holy Trinity, of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; on the 25th day of December 1792, I, Louis XVI. King of France, having been more than four months immured with my Family in the Tower of the Temple at Paris, by those who were my subjects, and deprived of all communication whatsoever, even with my Family, since the 11th of this month; involved moreover in a

trial, the issue of which, from the passions of men, it is impossible to foresee, and for which there is neither pretence nor foundation in any existing law; having God only for the witness of my thoughts, and to whom I can address myself, do hereby declare, in His Presence, my last will, and the feelings of my heart.

" I render my soul to God, its Creator, beseeching him to receive it in his mercy, and not to judge it according to its own merits, but according to the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered himself a sacrifice to God his Father, for us men, unworthy of it as we were, and I above all others.

" I die in the union of our Holy Mother, the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, which holds its powers by

an uninterrupted succession from St. Peter, to whom they were confided by Jesus Christ.

" I firmly believe, and acknowledge all that is contained in the Creed and the Commandments, of God and of the Church, the Sacraments and Mysteries, such as the Catholic Church teaches, and has ever taught them. I have never pretended to render myself a judge in the different modes of explaining the dogmas that divide the Church of Christ; but I have ever conformed, and ever will conform, if God grant me life, to the decisions which the superior Ecclesiastics of the Holy Catholic Church have made, and shall make; according to the discipline of the Church adopted from the time of Jesus Christ.

" I grieve with all my heart for such

of our brethren as may be in error: but I presume not to judge them, and do not the less love them all in Christ Jesus, as we are taught to do by Christian charity. I pray God to forgive me all my sins! I have endeavoured scrupulously to discover them, to detest them, and to humble myself in his presence. Not having it in my power to avail myself of the ministry of a Catholic Priest, I pray to God to receive the confession I have made of them to him, and especially my deep repentance for having put my name (though against my will) to instruments that may be contrary to the discipline and belief of the Catholic Church, to which I have always remained from my heart sincerely attached. I pray to God to accept my firm resolution of taking the earliest opportunity, if he grant me life, to avail myself of the ministry of a Catholic Priest,

to confess all my sins and receive the Sacrament of Penitence.

" I intreat all whom I may have offended through inadvertence (for I do not recollect having ever willingly given offence to any person), or to whom I may have given any bad example or scandal by my actions, to forgive the evil I may have done them. I intreat all charitable persons to unite their prayers with mine, that I may obtain pardon of God for my sins.

" I forgive with all my heart those who have become my enemies without my having given them any reasons for so doing; and I pray God to forgive them, as well as those who, through a false or misconceived zeal, have done me much evil.

" I

" I recommend to God, my wife and my children, my sister and my aunts, my brothers, and all who are related to me by ties of blood, or in any other manner whatsoever: I pray God more especially to look with mercy upon my wife, my children, and my sister, who have been suffering a long time with me; to support them by his grace, if they lose me, and as long as they remain in this perishable world.

" I recommend my children to my wife: I have never doubted her maternal tenderness. I particularly recommend it to her to make them good Christians, and to give them virtuous minds; to make them look upon the pomps of this world, if they are condemned to experience them, as a dangerous and transitory inheritance, and to turn their

thoughts to the only solid and durable glory of eternity. I intreat my sister to continue her tenderness to my children, and to be a mother to them should they have the misfortune to lose their own.

" I intreat my wife to forgive me all the evils she suffers on my account, and whatever vexations I may have caused her in the course of our union; as she may be assured that I harbour nothing against her, should she suppose there was any thing with which she might reproach herself.

" I recommend most earnestly to my children, after their duty to God, which must always stand first, to continue united together, submissive and obedient to their mother, and grateful for all the cares and pains she takes for them, and in memory of me. I intreat them to

look upon their aunt as a second mother.

" I recommend to my son, if he should have the misfortune of becoming King, to reflect, that he ought to devote himself entirely to the happiness of his fellow citizens; that he ought to forget all hatred and resentment, and particularly in what relates to the misfortunes and vexations I have suffered; that he cannot promote the happiness of a nation but by reigning according to the laws; yet, at the same time, that a King cannot enforce those laws, and do the good which his heart prompts, unless he be possessed of the necessary authority; for that, otherwise, being fettered in his operations, and inspiring no respect, he is more hurtful than useful.

" I recommend to my son to take care of all who were attached to me, as far as circumstances may put it in his power: to recollect that it is a sacred debt which I have contracted with the children or relations of those who have perished for me; and, lastly, of those who are themselves unfortunate on my account.

" I know that there are several persons, formerly in my service, who have not conducted themselves towards me as they ought, and even shown ingratitude towards me; but I forgive them (in times of tumult and effervescence we are not always masters of ourselves); and I intreat my son, if he should ever have an opportunity, that he will think only of their misfortunes.

" I wish I could here express my acknowledgments to those who have

evinced a true and disinterested attachment for me: on the one hand, if I have been keenly wounded by the ingratitude and disloyalty of people who have experienced from me nothing but bounty, either themselves or in the persons of their relations or friends; on the other hand, I have had the consolation of seeing an attachment and concern manifested for me by many on whom I never bestowed a favour: I intreat them to accept my best thanks. In the situation in which things still remain, I should be afraid of endangering them if I were more explicit; but I recommend it particularly to my son to seek occasions of showing his acknowledgment.

" I think, however, that I should do injustice to the sentiments of the nation if I hesitated openly to recommend to my son M. *de Chamilly* and M. *Huë*,

whose sincere attachment to me prompted them to shut themselves up with me in this melancholy habitation, and who looked to become the unhappy victims of that attachment. I also recommend *Cléry* to him, with whose services ever since he has been with me I have had every reason to be entirely satisfied. As it is he who has remained with me to the last, I intreat the Gentlemen of the Commune, to see that my cloaths, books, watch, purse, and the other small articles that were lodged with the Council of the Commune, be delivered to him.

" I also most freely forgive those who were guards over me, for the ill treatment and constraint they thought it their duty to inflict upon me. Some there were whose souls were tender and compassionate; may their hearts enjoy

that peace which should be the reward of such dispositions.

" I request M. *de Malesherbes*, M. *Tronchet*, and M. *de Sèze*, to receive here my best thanks for, and acknowledgments of, the sense I entertain of all the care and trouble they have taken upon themselves for me.

" I conclude by declaring before God, in whose presence I am about to appear, that my conscience does not accuse me with any of the crimes which are imputed to me.

" Written and signed by me, and a duplicate hereof made, at the Tower of the Temple, on the 25th day of December 1792.

(Signed) " LOUIS."

On the 26th of December, the King was conducted the second time to the bar of the Assembly: I had taken care to have the Queen apprized of it, that she might not be alarmed by the drums, and the movements of the troops. His Majesty set out at ten o'clock in the morning, and returned at five in the evening, still in the custody of *Chambon* and *Santerre*. In the evening, just as the King got up from supper, M. *de Malesherbes*, M. *de Sèze*, and M. *Tronchet*, arrived: he requested them to take some refreshment, which was accepted only by M. *de Sèze*; to whom His Majesty expressed his acknowledgments for the trouble he had taken in his speech of that day: the Gentlemen then withdrew to the cabinet.

The next day, His Majesty condescended

scended to give me his defence, which had been printed, after asking the Municipal Officers if he might do it without impropriety. The Commissioner, *Vincent*, a builder, who had rendered every service in his power to the Royal Family, undertook to convey a copy of it secretly to the Queen. When the King was thanking him for executing this little commission, he availed himself of the opportunity to ask His Majesty for something which he might keep as having belonged to him. The King untied his cravat, and made him a present of it. Another time, he gave his gloves to one who asked them from the same motive. Even in the eyes of many who guarded him, these spoils had already become sacred.

On the first of January, I went to the

King's bed side, and in a low voice begged his permission to present him with my most ardent wishes for the termination of his misfortunes. "I accept "your good wishes," said he, in an affectionate manner, giving me one of his hands, which I kissed and bathed with my tears. As soon as he was up, he requested a Municipal Officer to go and ask how his Family were, and to present them with his best wishes for the new year. The Municipal Officers were softened at the manner in which these affecting words, as they referred to the situation of the King, were spoken. "Why," said one of them to me, when His Majesty had returned to his chamber, "Why does not he ask to "see his Family? Now that the pro-"ceedings are gone through, there "could be no difficulty in the way: but "he must apply to the Convention."

The Municipal Officer who had gone with the message to the Queen's apartments, now returned, and informed His Majesty that his Family thanked him for his good wishes, and sent him theirs. " What a new-year's day !" said the King.

The same evening, I took the liberty of remarking to him, that I was almost sure of the consent of the Convention, if His Majesty would ask to be allowed to see his Family. " In a few days," said the King, " they will not refuse " me that consolation : I must wait."

The nearer the hour of pronouncing judgment approached, if the proceeding against the King can be so called, the more were my fears and anguish increased : I put a thousand questions to

the Municipal Officers, and all their answers added to my terrors. My wife still came every week to see me, and gave me an exact account of what was passing in Paris. The public opinion appeared always favourable to the King and even burst out loudly at the theatres *François* and *Vaudeville*. At the representation of the piece called *l'Ami des Loix* at the former, every allusion to His Majesty's trial was caught and received with the most unbounded applause. At the latter, one of the characters in *la Chaste Suzanne*, says to the two old men: "How "can you be accusers and judges at the "same time?"—— The audience forced the player to repeat this passage several times over. I gave the King a copy of *l'Ami des Loix*. I often told him, and indeed had almost persuaded myself, that the Members of the Convention, divided against one another, would only sen-

tence him to confinement or banishment. " May they," replied His Majesty, " act " with that moderation to my Family ! " I have no fear but for them."

Some persons gave me to understand, by means of my wife, that a considerable sum, lodged with M. *Parisot*, the editor of the Daily Paper, was at the King's disposal, concerning which I was desired to apply to him for orders, and that the sum should be paid into the hands of M. *de Malesherbes*, if agreeable to His Majesty. I gave the King an account of it. " Thank those persons in my name," replied he, " I cannot accept their gene- " rous offers, it would endanger them." I begged him at least to speak of it to M. *de Malesherbes*, which he promised me to do.

The correspondence between their

Majesties was still kept up; and the King being informed that Madame Royale was ill, continued very uneasy for some days; till the Queen, after much entreaty, obtained the attendance of M. *Brunier*, Physician of the Children of France, on which his mind seemed to be relieved.

On Tuesday, the 15th of January, the day before the King was to receive judgment, his Counsel came to him as usual: when M. *de Sèze* and M. *Tronchet* apprized His Majesty of their absence the next day.

On Wednesday morning, the 16th, M. *de Malesherbes* staid a considerable time with the King, and told His Majesty as he went away that he would come and give him an account of the votes as soon as he knew the result of them; but the sitting being prolonged at night

to a very late hour, the decree was not pronounced till the morning of the 17th.

In the evening of the 16th, at six o'clock, four Municipal Officers entered the room and read a decree of the Commune to the King, importing in substance—"that he should be kept in "sight, night and day, by the said "four Municipal Officers, and that two "of them should stay all night by his "bed side."—— The King asked if the judgment had been pronounced: one of them *(du Roure)* having first seated himself in the armed-chair that belonged to His Majesty, who was standing, answered that he did not trouble himself about what was passing at the Convention, but, however, he had heard say, that they were still voting. A few mo-

ments after, M. *de Malesherbes* came in, and informed the King that the votes were not all yet taken.

At this time, the chimney of a chamber, where the wood-carrier* of the Temple Palace lodged, took fire. A considerable crowd got into the Court. A Municipal Officer in great alarm ran in to desire M. *de Malesherbes* to retire immediately; he went away after assuring the King that he would return to let him know the judgment. I then asked the Municipal Officer what it was that frightened him? "The Temple is set "on fire," said he; "it has been done on "purpose to save *Capet* in the tumult; "but I have had the walls surrounded "by a strong guard." We soon heard

* Fires in France are generally made with wood.

that

that the fire was extinguished, and that it had arisen from a mere accident.

On Thursday, January 17th, M. *de Malesherbes* came about nine o'clock in the morning: I ran to meet him: " All " is lost," said he; " the King is con- " demned." The King, who saw him coming, rose to receive him. The Minister threw himself at his feet; his voice was stifled with sobs, and, for several moments, he could not utter a word. The King raised him, and pressed him to his bosom with warmth. M. *de Malesherbes* then made known to him the decree sentencing him to death. The King shewed no mark of surprise or agitation: he seemed affected only at the grief of that venerable old man, and even endeavoured to console him.

M. *de Malesherbes* gave His Majesty an account of the result of the votes. Informers, relations, personal enemies, laity, clergy, absent members, had indiscriminately given their opinions; yet, notwithstanding this violation of all forms, those who were for death, some as a political necessity, others pretending to believe the King really guilty, amounted to a majority of FIVE ONLY. Several members had voted for death conditionally to be suspended. A new call of votes upon this question had been resolved; and it was to be presumed that the voices of those who were for postponing the perpetration of the regicide, joined to the suffrages against the sentence being capital, would have formed the majority. But at the gates of the Assembly, assassins, devoted to the *Duke of Orleans*, and to the Deputies of Paris, by their cries terrified, and with their

poignards menaced, whoever should refuse to become an accomplice; and thus, whether from stupefaction or indifference, the capital did not dare, or did not chuse, to make a single attempt to save their King.

M. *de Malesherbes* was preparing to go: the King desired, and was permitted, to speak with him in private. He took him to his closet, shut the door, and remained about an hour alone with him. His Majesty then conducted him to the outer door, desired he would return early in the evening, and not forsake him in his last moments. "The grief of this good "old man has deeply affected me," said the King to me, as he came back to his chamber, where I was waiting for him.

From the arrival of M. *de Malesherbes*

I had been seized with a trembling through my whole frame: however, I got every thing ready for the King to shave. He put on the soap himself, standing up and facing me while I held his bason. Forced to stifle my feelings, I had not yet had resolution to look at the face of my unfortunate Master; but my eyes now catching his accidentally, my tears ran over in spite of me. I know not whether seeing me in that state put the King in mind of his own situation or not, but he suddenly turned very pale: at the sight, my knees trembled and my strength forsook me; the King, perceiving me ready to fall, caught me by both hands, and pressing them warmly, said, in a gentle voice, "Come, "more courage." He was observed; the depth of my affliction was manifested by my silence, of which he seemed sensible. His countenance was reani-

mated, he shaved himself with composure, and I then dressed him.

His Majesty remained in his chamber till dinner-time, employed in reading or walking. In the evening, seeing him go towards his closet, I followed him, under pretence that he might want my attendance. " You have heard," said the King to me, " the account of the " sentence pronounced against me ?"— " Ah! Sire," I answered, " hope that " it will be superseded; M. *de Malesherbes* " believes that it will."—" I seek no " hope," replied the King, " but I grieve " exceedingly to think that *Monsieur* " *d'Orleans*, my relation, should have " voted for my death: read that list." He then gave me the list of voters, which he had in his hand. " The public," I observed, " murmurs greatly: Dumou- " rier is in Paris; it is said that he en-

" tertains favourable intentions, and that
" he brings with him the sentiments of
" his army against the proceedings on
" your Majesty's trial. The people is
" shocked at the infamous conduct of
" *Monsieur d'Orleans.* It is also reported
" that the foreign Ambassadors will
" meet and go to the Assembly. In-
" deed, it is confidently asserted, that the
" Members of the Convention are afraid
" of a popular insurrection."—" I
" should be very sorry to have it take
" place," replied the King; " for then
" there would be new victims. I do not
" fear death," added His Majesty; " but
" I cannot, without shuddering, con-
" template the cruel lot which I leave
" behind me, to my Family, to the
" Queen, to our unfortunate children,
" and those faithful servants, who have
" never abandoned me, and those old
" men, whose subsistence depended up-

" on the little pensions I allowed them!
" who will succour and protect them?
" I see the people delivered over a prey
" to anarchy, become the victims of
" every faction, crimes succeed crimes,
" long dissensions tear France in pieces."
Then, after a moment's pause: " Oh!
" my God!" he exclaimed, " is this the
" reward which I must receive for all
" my sacrifices? Have I not tried every
" thing to ensure the happiness of the
" French people?" In pronouncing these words, he seized and pressed both my hands: penetrated with a holy respect, I bathed his with my tears; and in that state was under the necessity of breaking from him. The King expected M. *de Malesherbes*, but in vain. At night he asked me if he had been at the Temple: I had put the same question to the Commissioners, who had all answered, no.

On Friday, the 18th, the King was exceedingly uneasy at hearing no news of M. *de Malesherbes*. He happened to take up an old *Mercure de France*, where he found a riddle*, which he gave me to guess; but not being able to do it—"What, can't you find it out?" said he, "and yet it is at this moment very ap-"plicable to me: *Sacrifice* is the word." He then ordered me to look in the library for the volume of Hume's History of England that contained the death of Charles I. which he read the following days. I found, on this occasion, that His Majesty had perused, since his coming to the Temple, two hundred and fifty volumes. At night, I took the

* *Logogriphe*, a particular sort of riddle, where the word meant is described, by the different words and names which may be made out of some or all the letters.

liberty of observing to him, that he could not be deprived of his Counsel without a decree of the Convention, and that he might demand their admission to the Tower. " Let us wait till to-" morrow," was his reply.

On Saturday the 19th, at nine in the morning, a Municipal Officer named *Gobeau*, came in, holding a paper in his hand: he was accompanied by the Warden of the Tower, one *Mathey*, who brought a standish. The Municipal Officer told the King, that he had orders to take an inventory of the furniture and other effects. His Majesty left me with him, and retired to the turret. The Municipal Officer then, under pretence of taking the inventory, began a very minute search, to be certain, as he said, that no arms or sharp instruments had

been secreted in His Majesty's chamber. A small desk remained to be examined, which contained papers: the King was compelled to open every drawer in it, and to remove and show every paper, one after the other. There were three rouleaus at the bottom of one of the drawers, the contents of which they desired to see. " It is," said the King, " money which does not belong to me, " but to M. *de Malesherbes:* I had put it " up for the purpose of giving it to " him." The three rouleaus contained three thousand livres in gold; on each was written, in the King's hand, *for M. de Malesherbes.*

While the same search was making in the turret, His Majesty went into his chamber, and wanted to warm himself. *Mathey*, the Warden, was standing before the fire, with his back to it, and

his coat-flaps tucked up under his arms. As he scarcely left room on either side for the King to warm himself, and continued insolently standing in the same place, His Majesty, with some quickness, told him to leave a little more room: on which he withdrew, and was soon after followed by the Municipal Officers, having concluded their scrutiny.

In the evening the King desired the Municipal Officers to enquire of the Commune upon what grounds they objected to his Counsel's coming to the Tower, requesting to have at least some conversation with M. *de Malesherbes*. They promised to mention it; but one of them confessed that they had been forbidden to lay before the Council General any application from Louis XVI.

but what should be written and signed by himself. " Why," replied the King, " have I been left two whole days igno- " rant of this alteration?" He then wrote a note, and gave it to the Municipal Officers; who, however, did not carry it to the Commune till the next morning. The King desired to have a free communication with his Counsel, and complained of the resolution ordering him to be kept in sight both night and day. " It must be supposed," said he, in his note to the Commune, " that, in the situation I now am, it is " very painful for me not to have it in " my power to be alone, and not to be " allowed the tranquillity necessary to " collect myself."

On Sunday, the 20th of January, the King, the moment he was up, enquired of the Municipal Officers if they had laid his

request before the Council of the Commune, which they assured him they had done immediately. About 10 o'clock, on my going into the King's chamber, he said: "I do not see that M. *de Males-*" *herbes* comes."—"Sire," said I, "I have "just learnt that he came several times, "but was always refused admission into "the Tower."——"I shall soon know "the grounds of this refusal," replied the King, "as the Commune have, no "doubt before this time, considered my "letter." He employed himself the rest of the morning in walking about his chamber, and in reading and writing.

Just as the clock had struck two, the door was suddenly thrown open, for the Executive Council. About a dozen or fifteen persons came forward at once. *Garat*, the Minister of Justice, *le Brun*,

Minister for Foreign Affairs, *Grouvelle*, Secretary to the Council, the President, and the *Procurator-General-Syndic* of the Department, the Mayor, and Solicitor to the Commune, the President and Public Accuser of the Criminal Tribunal. *Santerre*, stepping before the others, told me to announce the Executive Council. The King who had heard the noise they made in coming in, had got up, and advanced some steps, but at sight of this train he stopt between his chamber door and that of the antichamber in a most noble and commanding attitude. I was close by him. *Garat*, with his hat upon his head, addressed him thus: " *Louis*, the National Convention has " charged the Provisionary Executive " Council to make known to you its de- " crees of the 15th, 16th, 17th, 19th and " 20th of January. The Secretary of the " Council will read them to you." On

which *Grouvelle*, the Secretary, unrolled the decree, and read it with a weak and tremulous voice.

Decrees of the National Convention of the 15th, 16th, 17th, 19th and 20th of January.

ARTICLE I.

The National Convention declares *Louis Capet*, the last King of the French, guilty of a conspiracy against the liberty of the Nation, and of an attempt against the general safety of the State.

ARTICLE II.

The National Convention decrees that *Louis Capet* shall suffer the punishment of death.

ARTICLE III.

The National Convention declares null and void the instrument of *Louis Capet*,

brought to the Bar by his Counsel, entitled, " An Appeal to the Nation against the Judgment passed upon him by the Convention;" and prohibits every one whosoever to pay any attention to it, on pain of being prosecuted and punished as guilty of an attempt against the general safety of the Republic.

ARTICLE IV.

The Provisionary Executive Council shall give notice of the present decree in the course of the day to *Louis Capet*, and shall take proper measures to carry the same into execution within twenty-four hours after such notice given, and shall give a full account thereof to the National Convention immediately after it is executed.

While this was reading, no alteration took

took place in the King's countenance; I observed only in the first article, at the word *conspiracy*, a smile of indignation appear upon his lips; but at the words *shall suffer the punishment of death*, the heavenly expression of his face, when he looked on those around him, showed them that death had no terrors for innocence. The King stept forward, and took the decree from the hands of the Secretary *Grouvelle*, folded it up, and put it into his pocket-book, from which he took out another paper, and presenting it to the Minister *Garat*, desired he would deliver that letter immediately to the National Convention. The Minister appearing to hesitate, the King added, " I will read it to you :" and without the least change of countenance, read what follows.

" I demand a delay of three days that I may be able to prepare myself for appearing before God. I also for that purpose demand that I may freely see the person whom I shall point out to the Commissioners of the Commune; and that that person may be ensured from all fear and all uneasiness on account of the act of charity he will bestow upon me."

" I demand to be freed from the incessant inspection which the Council General have for some days past established."

" I demand, in that interval, to be empowered to see my Family at the time I shall appoint, and without a witness. I earnesly wish that the National Convention would immediately take into their consideration the state of my

Family, and that they may be permitted freely to go wherever they think proper."

" I recommend to the bounty of the Nation at large those persons who were dependent upon me: there are very many of them who had sunk their whole fortune in their places, from the loss of which they must now be in great want; and others who never had any thing to live upon but their appointments: among the pensioners, there are many old men, women and children, who have also no other support."

" Done at the Tower of the Temple, the 20th of January, 1793.

(Signed) " LOUIS."

Garat took the King's letter, and said he was going with it to the Convention. As he was leaving the room, His Majesty felt again in his pocket, took out his pocket-book, and, presenting a paper from it, said: " Sir, if the Conven- " tion agrees to my demand of the per- " son I desire, here is his address." He then gave it to a Municipal Officer. This address, written in a different hand from the King's, was: *Monsieur Edgeworth de Firmont, No.* 483, *Rue du Bacq.* The King went back a few steps, and the Minister, with those who accompanied him, went away.

His Majesty walked about his chamber for an instant. I remained standing against the door, my arms crossed, and as one deprived of all feeling. The King came up to me, and bade me order his dinner. Shortly after, two Municipal Officers called me into the

eating-room, where they read me a resolution, importing, " that *Louis* should " use neither knife nor fork at his meals, " but that his valet-de-chambre should " be trusted with a knife to cut his " bread and meat, in the presence of " two Municipal Officers, and that af- " terward the knife should be taken " away." The two Municipal Officers charged me to inform the King of this, which I refused to do.

On entering the eating-room, the King saw the tray in which was the Queen's dinner: he asked why his Family had been made to wait an hour beyond their time, and said the delay would alarm them. He then sat down to table. " I have no knife," said he. The Municipal Officer, *Minier*, then mentioned the resolution of the Commune. " Do they think me such a

" coward," said the King, " as to make " an attempt on my own life? They " have imputed crimes to me, but I am " innocent of them, and shall die with- " out fear. Would to God my death " might be productive of happiness to " the French, or could avert the mise- " ries I foresee." A profound silence ensued. The King eat a little: he helped himself to some stewed beef with a spoon, and broke his bread. He was at dinner but a few minutes.

I was sitting in my chamber, a prey to the deepest affliction, when about six in the evening, *Garat* returned to the Tower. I went to announce him to the King, but *Santerre*, who was before him, walked up to His Majesty, and in a low voice, with a smile upon his face, said: " Here is the Executive Council." The Minister coming forward, told the

King that he had carried his letter to the Convention, which had charged him to deliver the following answer: "That "*Louis* should be at liberty to send for "any Minister of worship he should "think proper, and to see his Family "freely and without witness; that the "Nation, ever great and ever just, "would take into consideration the "state of his Family; that proper in- "demnifications would be granted to "the creditors of his household; and "that respecting the delay of three days, "the National Convention had passed "to the order of the day."

On this reply the King made no observation, but returned to his chamber, where he said to me: "I thought, from "*Santerre*'s air and manner that he came "to inform me of the delay being grant- "ed." A young Municipal Officer,

whose name was *Botson*, seeing the King speak to me, approached us; and the King said to him: "You seem concerned "at my fate; accept my thanks for it." The Municipal Officer, surprized, knew not what to answer; and I was myself astonished at His Majesty's expressions; for this Municipal Officer, who was scarcely two-and-twenty, and of a mild and engaging figure, had said only a few minutes before: "I desired to be on "duty at the Temple to see the grimaces "he will make to-morrow."—It was of the King that he spoke.—"And I too," —subjoined *Merceraut*, the stone-cutter, whom I mentioned before:—"every "body refused to take the duty; I would "not give up this day for a good deal "of money." Such were the vile and ferocious men whom the Commune purposely

posely named to guard the King in his last moments.

For the last four days the King had not seen his Counsel. Such of the Commissioners as had shown themselves concerned for his misfortunes, avoided coming near the place. Among so many subjects to whom he had been a father, among so many Frenchmen whom he had loaded with his bounties, there was but a single servant left with him to participate in his sorrows.

After the answer from the Convention was read, the Commissioners took the Minister of Justice aside, and asked him how the King was to see his Family. " In private," replied *Garat*, " it is so " intended by the Convention." Upon which the Municipal Officers com-

municated to him the resolution of the Commune, which enjoined them not to lose sight of the King, night or day. It was then agreed between the Municipal Officers and the Ministers, in order to reconcile these two opposite resolutions, that the King should receive his Family in the eating-room, so as to be seen through the glazed partition, but that the door should be shut that they might not be heard.

His Majesty called the Minister of Justice back, to ask if he had sent to M. *de Firmont*. *Garat* said he had brought him with him in his carriage, that he was with the Council, and was coming up. His Majesty gave 3000 livres in gold to a Municipal Officer, named *Baudrais*, who was talking with the Minister, which he begged him to deliver to M. *de Malesherbes*, to whom they be-

longed. The Municipal Officer promised he would, but immediately carried them to the Council, and this money never was paid to M. *de Malesherbes*. M. *de Firmont* now made his appearance; the King took him to the turret and shut himself in with him. *Garat* being gone, there remained in His Majesty's apartment only three Municipal Officers.

At eight o'clock, the King came out of his closet, and desired the Municipal Officers to conduct him to his Family: they replied, that could not be, but his Family should be brought down, if he desired it. " Be it so," said the King; " but I may at least see them " alone in my chamber."——" No," rejoined one of them, " we have settled " with the Minister of Justice, that it

" shall be in the eating-room."—— " You have heard," said His Majesty, " that the decree of the Convention " permits me to see them without wit- " nesses."——" True," replied the Officers, " you will be in private: the door " shall be shut, but we shall have our " eyes upon you through the glass."—— " Let my Family come," said the King.

In the interval, His Majesty went into the eating-room: I followed him, placed the table aside, and set chairs at the top to make room. The King desired me to bring some water and a glass. There being a decanter of iced water standing on a table, I brought only a glass, which I placed by it; on which he told me to bring water that was not iced, for if the Queen drank that, it might make her ill. " Go," added His Majesty, " and tell M. *de Fir-*

" *mont* not to leave the closet, lest my " Family should be shocked on seeing " him." The Commissioner who had gone for them, staid a quarter of an hour; during which time, the King returned to his closet, but from time to time came to the entry-door in extreme agitation.

At half past eight, the door opened. The Queen came first, leading her son by the hand; Madame Royale and Madame Elizabeth followed. They all threw themselves into the arms of the King. A melancholy silence prevailed for some minutes; and it was only broken by sighs and sobs. The Queen made an inclination towards His Majesty's chamber. " No," said the King, " let " us go into this room, I can see you on- " ly there." They went in, and I shut the glass-door. The King sat down; the

Queen was on his left hand, Madame Elizabeth on his right, Madame Royale nearly opposite, and the young Prince stood between his legs: all were leaning on the King, and often pressed him in their embraces. This scene of sorrow lasted an hour and three quarters, during which it was impossible to hear any thing. It could, however, be seen, that, after every sentence uttered by the King, the agitation of the Queen and Princesses increased, lasted some minutes, and then the King began to speak again. It was plain, from their gestures, that they received from himself the first intelligence of his condemnation.

At a quarter past ten, the King rose first; they all followed. I opened the door. The Queen held the King by his right arm: Their Majesties gave each a hand to the Dauphin. Madame Royale,

on the King's left, had her arms round his body; and, behind her, Madame Elizabeth, on the same side, had taken his arm. They advanced some steps towards the entry-door, breaking out into the most agonizing lamentations. "I "assure you," said the King, "that I "will see you again to-morrow morn- "ing, at eight o'clock."——"You pro- "mise?" said they all together.—"Yes, "I promise."——"Why not at seven "o'clock?" said the Queen.——"Well! "yes, at seven," replied the King; "farewell!" He pronounced "Fare- "well" in so impressive a manner, that their sobs were renewed, and Madame Royale fainted at the feet of the King, round whom she had clung. I raised her, and assisted Madame Elizabeth to support her. The King, willing to put an end to this agonizing scene, once more embraced them all most tenderly,

and had the resolution to tear himself from their arms. "Farewell! farewell!" said he, and went into his chamber.

The Queen, Princesses, and Dauphin, returned to their own apartments. I attempted to continue supporting Madame Royale, but the Municipal Officers stopt me before I had gone up two steps, and compelled me to go in. Though both the doors were shut, the screams and lamentations of the Queen and Princesses were heard for some time on the stairs. The King returned to his Confessor in the turret closet.

He came out in half an hour, and I put supper upon the table: the King eat little, but heartily.

After supper, His Majesty returning

to

to the closet, his Confessor came out in a few minutes, and desired the Municipal Officers to conduct him to the Council Chamber. It was to request that he might be furnished with the garments and whatever else was necessary for performing Mass early the next morning. M. *de Firmont* did not prevail without great difficulty in having his request granted. The articles wanted for the service were brought from the church of the Capuchins of the Marais, near the Hotel de Soubise, which had been formed into a parish. On returning from the Council Chamber, M. *de Firmont* went directly to the King, who accompanied him to the turret, where they remained together till half past twelve. I then undressed the King, and, as I was going to roll his hair, he said: "It does not "signify." Afterwards, when he was in

bed, as I was drawing his curtains: "*Cléry*, you will call me at five o'clock."

He was scarcely in bed before he fell into a profound sleep, which lasted, without interruption, till five. M. *de Firmont*, whom His Majesty had persuaded to take some rest, threw himself upon my bed; and I passed the night on a chair in the King's chamber, praying God to support his strength and his courage.

On hearing five o'clock strike I began to light the fire. The noise I made awoke the King, who, drawing his curtains, asked if it had struck five. I said it had by several clocks, but not yet by that in the apartment. Having finished with the fire, I went to his bed-side. "I have slept soundly," said his Majesty; "I stood in need of it; yesterday

" was a fatiguing day to me. Where is " M. *de Firmont?*" I answered, on my bed.——" And where were you all " night?"——" On this chair."——" I " am sorry for it," said the King.—— " Oh! Sire," replied I, " can I think of " myself at this moment?" He gave me his hand, and tenderly pressed mine.

I then dressed His Majesty; during which time, he took a seal from his watch and put it into his waistcoat pocket; the watch he placed on the chimney-piece: then taking off his ring from his finger, after looking at it again and again, he put it into the pocket with the seal. He changed his shirt, put on a white waistcoat, which he wore the evening before, and I helped him on with his coat. He then emptied his pockets of his pocket-book, his glass,

his snuff-box, and some other things, which, with his purse also, he deposited on the chimney-piece: this was all done without a word, and before several Municipal Officers. As soon as he was dressed, the King bade me go and inform M. *de Firmont* of it, whom I found already risen, and he immediately attended His Majesty to the turret.

Meanwhile, I placed a chest of drawers in the middle of the chamber, and arranged it in the form of an altar for saying Mass. The necessary articles had been brought at two o'clock in the morning. The Priest's garments I carried into my chamber, and, when every thing was ready, I went and informed His Majesty. He asked me if I was acquainted with the service. I told him I was, but that I did not know the responses by heart. He had a book in

his hand, which he opened, and, finding the place of the Mass, gave it me: he then took another book for himself. The Priest was then dressing. Before the altar, I had placed an armed-chair for His Majesty, with a large cushion on the ground: the cushion he desired me to take away, and went himself to his closet for a smaller one, made of hair, which he commonly made use of at his prayers. When the Priest came in, the Municipal Officers retired into the antichamber, and I shut one fold of the door. The Mass began at six o'clock. There was a profound silence during the awful ceremony. The King, all the time on his knees, heard Mass with the most devout attention; and received the Communion. After the service His Majesty withdrew to his closet, and the Priest went into my chamber, to put off his official attire.

I seized this moment of going to the King. He took both my hands into his, and said, with a tone of tenderness, "*Cléry*, I am satisfied with your attentions." ——" Ah! Sire," said I, throwing myself at his feet, " why cannot I, by my death, " satisfy these butchers, and preserve a " life of so much value to every good " Frenchman. Hope, Sire! they will " not dare to strike the blow."—— " Death," said he, " does not alarm me; " I am quite prepared for it; but do " not you expose yourself. I mean to " request that you should remain with " my Son. Take every care of him in " this horrid abode: bring to his mind, " tell him all the pangs I suffered for " the misfortunes entailed upon him. " The day perhaps may come when he " will have it in his power to reward " your zeal."—— " Oh! my Master! " Oh! my King!" cried I, " if the most

" absolute devotion, if my zeal, if my " attentions have been agreeable to " you, the only reward I desire of " your Majesty is to receive your bles- " sing: do not refuse it to the last " Frenchman remaining with you." I was still at his feet, holding one of his hands: in that state he granted my request, and blessed me; then raising me, pressed me to his bosom, saying, " give " it to all who are in my service: and " tell *Turgi* I am pleased with his con- " duct. Now go," added he, " and give " no room for suspicion against you." Then calling me back, and taking up a paper which he had put upon a table: " Here," said he, " is a letter I received " from *Pétion*, on your coming to the " Temple; it may be of use to you in " staying here." I again seized his hand, which I kissed, and retired. " Farewell!" he again said to me, " farewell!"

I went to my chamber, where I found M. *de Firmont* on his knees, praying by my bed-side. " What a Monarch !" said he, rising; " with what resignation " and fortitude does he go to meet " death ! He is as calm, as composed, as " if he had been hearing Mass in his " own Palace, and surrounded with his " Court." —— " I have this moment," said I, " been taking the most affecting leave " of him: he deigned to promise me " that he would request my being per- " mitted to continue at the Tower, in " the service of his son. I beg you, Sir, " when he goes out, to put him in mind " of it, for I shall never more have the " happiness of seeing him alone." —— " Be composed," said M. *de Firmont*, and rejoined the King.

At seven o'clock, the King, coming out

out of his closet, called to me, and taking me within the recess of the window, said: "You will give this Seal *(a)* to my "Son....this Ring *(b)* to the Queen, and "assure her that it is with pain I part "with it...this little packet contains the "hair of all my Family, you will give "her that too *——Tell the Queen, my "dear Children, and my Sister, that al- "though I promised to see them this "morning I have resolved to spare them "the pangs of so cruel a separation: "tell them how much it costs me to go "without receiving their embraces once "more!" He wiped away some tears; then added, in the most mournful accent: "I charge you to bear them my "last farewell!" He returned to the turret.

* See the Notes and Fac-simile at the end of the Volume.

The Municipal Officers, who had come up, heard His Majesty, and saw him give me the things, which I still held in my hands. At first they desired to have them given up; but one of them proposing to let them remain in my possession, till the Council should decide what was to be done, it was so agreed.

In a quarter of an hour after, the King again came out: " Enquire," said he to me, " if I can have a pair of scissars." I made the request known to the Commissioners. " Do you know what he " wants to do?"——" I know nothing " about it."——" We must know." I knocked at the door of the closet, and the King came out. The Municipal Officer, who had followed me, said to him: " You have desired to have a pair " of scissars; but, before the request is " made to the Council, we must know

" what you want to do with them." His Majesty answered: " It is that *Cléry* may " cut my hair." The Municipal Officers retired; one of them went down to the Council Chamber, where, after half an hour's deliberation, the scissars were refused. The Officer came up, and acquainted the King with the decision. " I did not mean to touch the scissars," said His Majesty; " I should have desired " *Cléry* to cut my hair before you: try " once more, Sir; I beg you to represent " my request." The Officer went back to the Council, who persisted in their refusal.

It was at this time that I was told to prepare myself to accompany the King, in order to undress him on the scaffold. At this intelligence I was seized with terror; but collecting all my strength, I

was getting myself ready to discharge this last duty to my Master, who felt a repugnance to its being performed by the executioner, when another Municipal Officer came and told me that I was not to go out, adding: " The common " executioner is good enough for him."

All the troops in Paris had been under arms from five o'clock in the morning. The beat of drums, the clash of arms, the trampling of horses, the removal of cannon, which were incessantly carried from one place to another, all resounded at the Tower.

At half after eight o'clock, the noise increased, the doors were thrown open with great clatter, when *Santerre*, accompanied by seven or eight Municipal Officers, entered at the head of ten soldiers, and drew them up in two lines. At this

movement, the King came out of his closet, and said to *Santerre*: "You are come for me?"——"Yes," was the answer.——"A moment," said the King, and went to his closet, from which he instantly returned, followed by his Confessor. His Majesty had his Will in his hand, and addressing a Municipal Officer, (named *Jaques Roux*, a priest,) who happened to stand before the others, said: "I beg you to give this paper to the "Queen—to my wife."——"It is no bu-"siness of mine," replied he, refusing to take it; "I am come here to conduct "you to the scaffold." His Majesty then turned to *Gobeau*, another Municipal Officer. "I beg," said he, "that "you will give this paper to my wife; "you may read it; there are some par-"ticulars in it I wish to be made known "to the Commune."

I was standing behind the King, near the fire-place, he turned round to me, and I offered him his great coat. " I " don't want it," said he, " give me only " my hat." I presented it to him—his hand met mine, which he pressed once more for the last time. " Gentlemen," said he, addressing the Municipal Officers, " I should be glad that *Cléry* might stay " with my son, as he has been accus- " tomed to be attended by him; I trust " that the Commune will grant this " request." His Majesty then looked at *Santerre*, and said: " Lead on."

These were the last words he spoke in his apartments. On the top of the stairs he met *Mathey*, the Warden of the Tower, to whom he said: " I spoke " with some little quickness to you the " day before yesterday, do not take it ill." *Mathey* made no answer, and even af-

fected to turn from the King while he was speaking.

I remained alone in the chamber, overwhelmed with sorrow, and almost without sense of feeling. The drums and trumpets proclaimed His Majesty's departure from the Tower.... An hour after, discharges of artillery, and cries of *Vive la Nation! Vive la République!* were heard.... The best of Kings was no more!

Reference to the Plans facing Page 99.

A. The second story of the small Tower, occupied by the Queen, her children, and Madame Elizabeth, from the 13th of August till the end of October 1792.

B. The third story of the small Tower, occupied by the King from the 13th of August till the 29th of September 1792.

NOTE.

(*a*) Having left Vienna to go to England, I went to Blankenburg for the purpose of laying my manuscript at the King's feet. When his Majesty came to this part of my journal, he looked into his desk, and, with emotion, showing me a seal, asked me if I recollected it?—I replied, it was the same. "If you could doubt it," continued the King, "read this note." I trembled as I took it. I recognized the Queen's writing; and the note was likewise signed by the Dauphin, at the time he was LOUIS XVII, by Madame Royale, and by Madame Elizabeth. It may be imagined what I felt! I was in the presence of a Prince whom fate tires not in pursuing. I had just parted with the Abbé *de Firmont*, and it was on the 21st of January that in the hands of LOUIS XVIII I again met with this ensign of royalty, which LOUIS XVI had been solicitous to preserve for his son. I adored Providence in its decrees, and I begged permission of the King to have this precious note engraved. I here present it to the public in an accurate fac-simile, taken from the original. (1) I attended the mass which the King caused to be solemnized by the Abbé *de Firmont*, on the day of his brother's martyrdom. The tears I there saw shed are not foreign to my subject.

(*b*) This ring is in possession of MONSIEUR: it was sent to him by the Queen and Madame Elizabeth, with some of the King's hair. The second note in the fac-simile (2) was sent with it.

Translation of the Fac-simile.

(1) Having a faithful being, on whom we can rely, I make use of the occasion to send to my dear brother and friend this charge, which can only be trusted to his hands; the bearer will tell you by what a miracle we have been able to get possession of these precious pledges. I reserve it for myself to tell you one day the name of him who is so useful to us. The impossibility we have hitherto experienced of being able to send you any tidings, and the excess of our misfortunes, make us feel still more deeply our cruel separation—may it not be long! I salute you in the mean time as I love you, and that you know is with all my heart. M. A. I am charged for my brother and myself to say we love you with all our hearts. M. T.—LOUIS. I enjoy by anticipation the pleasure you will experience in receiving this token of friendship and confidence. To be reunited with you, and to see you happy, is all I wish. You know whether I love you or not. I salute you with all my heart. E. M.

(2) Having at last found a means of confiding to our brother one of the only pledges we have remaining of the Being whom we cherish, and for whom we all weep, I thought you would be pleased to have something that comes from him. Keep it in token of the most tender friendship with which from my heart I salute you. M. A. What a happiness it is to me, my dear friend, my brother, that I am able, after so long an interval of time, to tell you all the pangs I have suffered for you!. A time will come I hope when I shall be able to embrace you, and tell you that you will never find a truer or tenderer friend than I am: I hope you don't doubt it.

(1)

ayant un etre fidele, sur lequel nous pouvons compter, j'en profite, pour envoyer, a mon frere et ami, ce depot qui ne peut etre confie qu'entre ses mains, le porteur, vous dira par quel miracle nous avons pu avoir ces precieux gages, je me reserve de vous dire moi meme un jour le nom de celui, qui nous est si utile, l'impossibilité ou nous avons ete jusqu'a present de pouvoir vous donner de nos nouvelles, et l'excès de nos malheurs nous fait sentir encore plus vivement, notre cruelle separation puisse-t-elle n'etre pas longue, je vous embrasse en attendant comme je vous aime, et vous savez que c'est de tout mon coeur_ M:A: je suis chargee pour mon frere et moi de vous embrasser de tout notre coeur. M.C. ~~Cath~~ Louis. je jouis d'avance du plaisir que vous eprouverés en recevant ce gage de l'amitié, et de la confiance, etre reunie avec vous et vous voir heureux est tout ce que je desire, vous savés si je vous aime, je vous embrasse de tout mon cœur. E M

(2)

ayant trouve enfin un moyen de confier a notre frere un des seul gage qui nous reste de l'etre que nous cherissions et pleurons tous j'ai cru que vous seriez bien aise d'avoir quelque chose qui vient de lui, gardez le, en signe de la amitie la plus tendre avec laquelle je vous embrasse de tout mon coeur. M.A. quelle bonheur pour moi mon cher ami, mon frere de pouvoir apres un si long espace de tems, vous parler de tout mes sentiments que j'ai soufert pour vous! un tems viendra j'espere ou je pourai vous embrasser, et vous dire que jamais vous ne trouvrés une amie plus vraie et plus tendre que moi, vous n'en doutés pas j'espere